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Studies in the Psychology of the Deaf

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By
JOHN D. COOPER

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FOREWORD

This is the second monograph in the series of Studies in the Psychology of the Deaf, prepared by the Psychological Division of the Clarence W. Barron Research Department of The Clarke School. It is our hope that the results of these investigations will contribute to a more definite understanding of the problems confronting deaf children and that they may contribute to the improvement of instruction.

THE TRUSTEES OF THE CLARKE SCHOOL

**I. THE LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR
OF YOUNG DEAF CHILDREN**

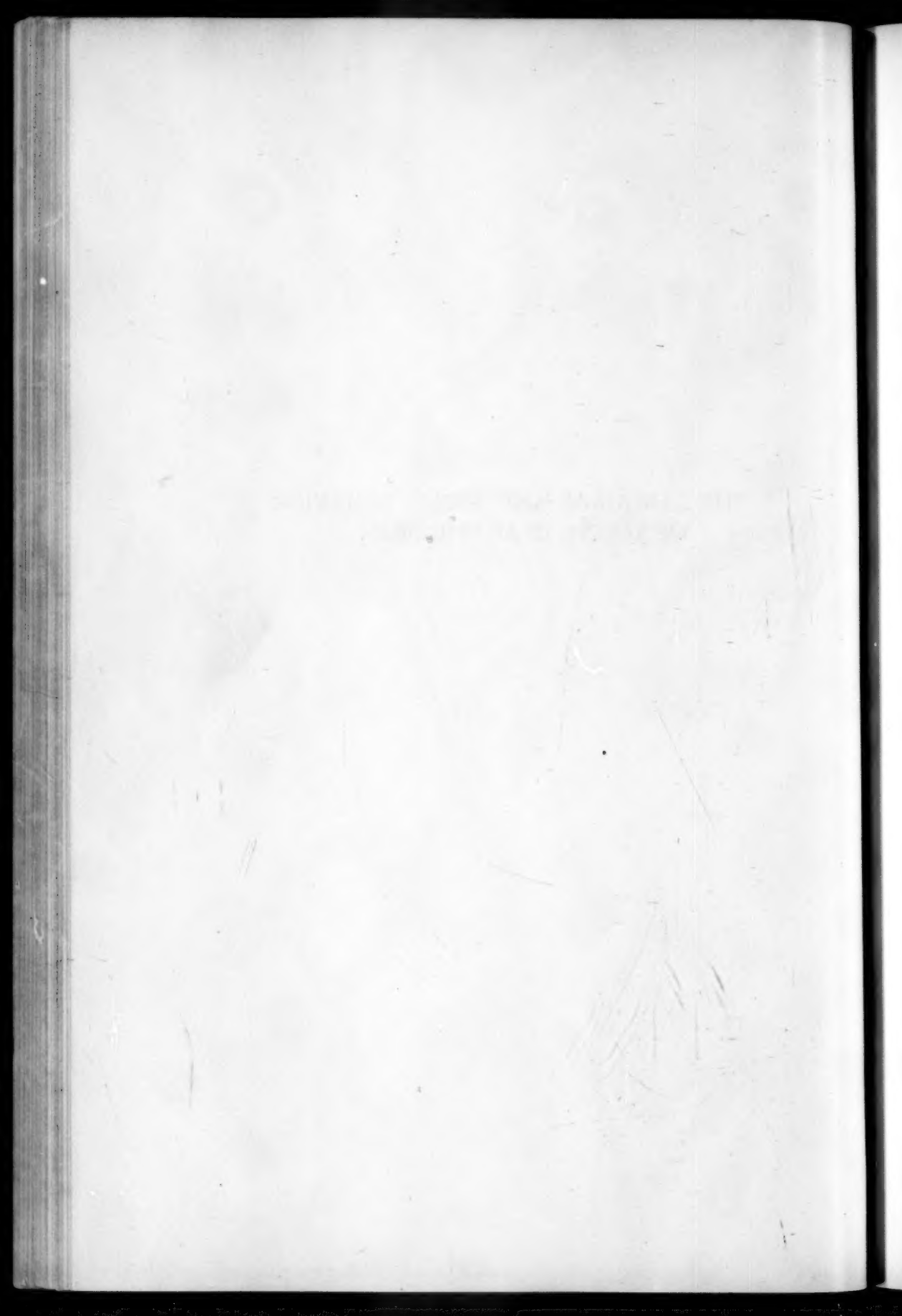


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I. INTRODUCTION

THE literature on the psychology of the deaf pre-school child is very meager. The reports which are published are almost exclusively about educational procedure or about testing. Curriculum studies and play materials are described and there are papers dealing with sense training, speech, and speech reading. But there exists no analysis of systematic observations dealing with the means of communication of the young deaf child, his social intercourse, or in general terms with the world in which he lives. Such an analysis should be of both practical and theoretical interest. Practically it is important in so far as it throws light on the stage of development which the young deaf child has attained when he enters school. The more the teacher responsible for his early education can learn about his thinking and his relation to the world of people and objects and happenings the more will her efforts meet his needs and the whole educational program will be more effective.

Such a study should also be interesting from a theoretical point of view. Young deaf children offer a unique opportunity for the study of some of the more fundamental problems of psychology. As a group their native intellectual potentialities are probably equal to those of hearing children,¹ yet they have been excluded, by reason of their sensory defect, from experience of the language of their environment.

An investigation of these children ought to be of special importance for the study of the early stages in the development of language, a field in which the lack of adequate data has often been deplored. DeLaguna, for instance says: "A number of causes, besides the ill-success of previous adventurers, have contributed to bring the enterprise of explaining the origin of language into disrepute. The first of these is the realization of the actual lack of data on which to build a really scientific theory" (6, pp. 4-5). No existing language is really primitive and primitive languages of earlier times left no record. The speech of the young hearing child is to such an extent conditioned by the environment that it presents obviously a very

¹ Although there is still no final answer to the question whether the congenitally deaf are fully equal to the hearing in intelligence as defined and measured by tests one may assume that there are no great differences as far as original abilities go. What differences exist between deaf and hearing children probably arise during development as the result of differences in social environment, especially in language experience.

different pattern from the "development of human speech *de novo*" (DeLaguna, p. 6.). DeLaguna herself, in discussing possible empirical material for the study of the development of language, mentions the gesture language used by deaf mutes. However she obviously thinks of the gesture language with its conventional symbols as it is used by some of the older deaf. She says that much can be learned from the study of gesture language; yet its value as empirical material is limited because "gesture language is still a language; that is, it exhibits what may be regarded as the minimum essential of a language—predication. And it has distinct words, *i.e.*, conventional symbols which function as separable elements in a sentence." We shall see that this is not true of much of the social communications between young deaf children. They "talk" to each other almost without conventional symbols and use only a very limited amount of predication. An investigation of their language ought to throw light on what DeLaguna calls the "crucial question," that is, how predication arose. Another problem for which again the young deaf child offers unique opportunities of research is the problem whether certain other kinds of behavior are dependent on language behavior. For example, to what degree are tool behavior, social behavior which involves the consideration of other persons, and imaginary behavior possible without a developed language? Here the meagerness of empirical investigations results from the difficulty of finding groups of persons in whom language and no other functions are impaired. Studies of aphasics, both children and adults, fail to yield conclusive results, just because one never knows what functions besides language are disturbed.

In this paper material is presented from a series of observations of young deaf and hearing children and the attempt is made to describe the effect of the restriction of the deaf child's means of communication on his social behavior. In describing the means of communication we restrict ourselves to their import for social behavior and do not consider problems concerning the gestures themselves, for instance how their movement configurations are related to the objects indicated. Further we do not treat the rôle played by language in such functions as concept formation, problem solving, and tool behavior.

II. MATERIAL OF THE STUDY

THE most extensive part of the material consists of observations of deaf and hearing children, made during periods of comparatively unrestricted play in pre-school groups. There are in all 75 observations, averaging 27 minutes each. Of these 53 were made with deaf children, 22 with hearing children. The deaf children were pupils at the Clarke School for the Deaf. There were altogether 14 deaf children, from two different class groups of seven each. In Group I the average age was 4:9,² ranging from 3:11 to 5:6; in Group II the average age was 5:11, ranging from 5:2 to 6:6. The observations were begun in the middle of the school year. Six of the children in Group I were in school for the first year, one for the second. Of Group II, five children had been in school during the previous year, two were having their first year of school. Each child of these groups was observed for two or more periods.

In each of these groups a certain amount of class work was being done, more in Group II than in Group I but in both the greater proportion of the time was spent in individual work. The teacher took one child after another for special work while the others were free to play. It was during these periods of free play that most of the observations were made. The children were largely left to their own devices except when quarrels arose that seemed likely to lead to serious consequences or when they interfered with those who were working. In Group I there were often two adults working with the children, in Group II usually only one.

Groups III and IV were made up of hearing children. Group III consisted of 18 children from a free play school, operated by the Department of Psychology of Smith College three days each week during the spring term of the year in which the observations were made. The children of this group came from families on relief, families of laborers, and some from families of business men. The observations were begun after the children had been together for several weeks. The average age of the children in this group was 4:3, ranging in age from 2:11 to 5:6. Ten of these children were observed for one period each, three for two periods each. Group IV was made up of children from the Smith College Nursery School whose pupils came largely from families of the professional class. In it were 16 children whose average age was 3:10, ranging from 2:7 to 5:3.

² The work of Group I was described in considerable detail in a paper by the teacher of that class, Miss Mary Wagner (14).

The average length of the observations varied necessarily according to the program of the schools in which they were made. Twenty-eight observations averaging 32 minutes each were made in Group I, twenty-five observations averaging 28 minutes each in Group II, sixteen observations averaging 21 minutes each in Group III, and six observations averaging 17 minutes each in Group IV. Table I summarizes this material.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS AND THEIR AGES; NUMBER AND LENGTH OF OBSERVATIONS

	GROUP	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	AVERAGE AGE	NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS	AVERAGE LENGTH OF OBSERVATIONS IN MINUTES
Deaf	I	7	4:9	28	32
	II	7	5:11	25	28
Hearing	III	18	4:3	16	21
	IV	16	3:10	6	17
Total		45		75	

No attempt has been made in this study to treat the material quantitatively. Hence the members of the two groups of deaf and of the two groups of hearing children are not distinguished in our later discussion but they are described separately here in order to show the differences of experience and of background represented within the groups observed.

The method of observation in most cases was to follow one child, recording by minutes what he did and said. When the situation was changing rapidly the record was made by fractions of minutes. It included the actions of other persons with whom the child under observation came into contact and diagrams were made at intervals during the observations to indicate the position of other persons, furniture, and play materials as these became significant. In some cases when a closely coordinated group activity was in progress the record describes the activity of the group as a whole, shifting from individual to individual as his behavior is distinct from that of the group. The main body of the record consisted of a clear running account of the child's movements. Interpretive comments such as "He is pretending to be a doctor" were put in parenthesis and kept strictly apart from the main sequence of events. Such remarks were naturally more frequent in regard to deaf than to hearing children, who usually explained

their activities verbally as they went on. The meaning of the deaf child's activity often had to be inferred from his general behavior and from gestures of different kinds of facial expression, the whole detail of which could only have been recorded by a motion picture. In these cases the meaning of the gesture could often be given in a few words and enough of a description made to give a fairly accurate idea of how the idea was expressed. Since this interpretive material was kept entirely separate there was no danger of confusing it with the strictly objective description and the subsequent course of the activity usually served to show whether or not the interpretation was justified.

A series of nine short motion pictures averaging 4.2 minutes, of pairs of young deaf children made up a second part of the material. These pictures were taken through an observation screen without the knowledge of the children. In each case the observer took the children to the observation room, seated them at a table, and gave them pencils and pieces of paper. They understood from this that they were to draw. They were then left alone and a cinematic record was made of their behavior.

These motion picture records show relatively simply action in a limited situation and do not indicate the range of communication and behavior that the observations in freer situations do. They are valuable, however, in making possible repeated study of a few scenes and study by different observers including the teachers and others who had regular contact with the children and a few older deaf persons, all of whom were able to add materially to the interpretations made by the laboratory workers. Many of the single tools of communication used by the larger groups of deaf children were recognized and studied in this way.

Two of these short dramas are described in detail in the appendix of this paper in order to give a more definite picture of what can go on between young deaf children.

III. THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION OF YOUNG DEAF CHILDREN

EVEN a casual observer visiting a group of young deaf children can easily see that their psychological environment includes other people, *i.e.*, that they live in a social psychological environment. Although they have few if any conventional words or symbolic gestures at their command there are coördinations between actions of the different individuals and an interplay between social action and reaction. Even the partners in a social conflict "understand" each other to a certain degree.

This understanding is made possible by factors of two different kinds. First there is the common perceptual environment which steers the actions of the children in each situation. There are many cases in which even for a hearing child little needs to be said since the situation itself determines the group activity. For example, when part of a block building has fallen and two children coöperate in repairing the damage it hardly matters whether one child says to another "Let's fix it." The common perceptual environment suffices to coördinate their actions.

Second, there are gestures and facial expressions which deaf children develop to serve as a kind of language. These range in kind from a few spoken words and symbolic gestures to expressive movements which carry no direct object symbolism. In the following we shall list and describe the most important of these and then show how the context serves to determine their meaning as tools of communication.

a. Tools of Social Intercourse of Young Deaf Children

1. Spoken words
2. Pictorial gestures
3. Imitation of action
 - a. Gestures with definite object reference
 - b. Pantomime: gestures describing a more complicated action
4. Pointing
5. Pointing combined with movements of the hand, used chiefly for commands
6. Facial expression
7. Nodding and shaking the head for "yes" and "no"
8. Expressive vocalizations

1. *Spoken words*: During the observation and motion picture studies only the words "boat" (used several times), "cat" (used once), and "home" (used several times) appeared. The children were having individual instruction in articulation at school during this time and had probably become aware of the function of spoken words but their own vocabularies were so small that the spoken word played very little part in their ordinary intercourse.

2. *Pictorial gestures*: Examples of these are house (indicated by a pointed roof) or light (opening of the hand with a symbolic imitation of a flare of light). It is interesting that these gestures, although definitely pictorial in their origins, had reached a stage of symbolism at which they no longer necessarily resembled the concrete object under consideration. The gesture for house, for instance, which was made by a movement describing a pointed roof, could be used to call attention to a house made of blocks with a flat roof.

3. *Imitation of action*: (a) The simplest of these indicated an object by describing the typical actions connected with it. They are like the pictorial gesture in having definite object reference but differ from it in describing action related to the object rather than the object's appearance. Examples are: auto (steering movements), flash light (holding the hand as if carrying a flash light), rope (movements of tying a knot), dog (movements suggesting the action of a dog's feet in running).

(b) Pantomime is a more elaborate form of action imitation. It is an "as if" action involving pretended environmental objects. It may be used as a means of communication but there are cases in which it cannot be thought of as communication even though it has a definite social function. When a child pretends to row, for instance, or to crank a car the pantomime is not necessarily carried out for purposes of communication even when it has the social effect of drawing other children into the imaginary situation. In other cases, however, the child definitely uses it to guide the behavior of other children by showing them what he wants them to do.

4. *Pointing*: This was the most frequently used gesture. If the rôle which pointing plays in the social behavior of young deaf children be considered the following cases can be distinguished:

(a) Pointing can be used to supply object reference (that is, as equivalent to a noun or symbolic gesture) in what is essentially a sentence. Such a sentence may be a statement. By pointing to a book and to himself the child may express the meaning, "The book is mine." Or the sentence may be of the more elementary one-word type in which object of reference

and a desire or demand are bound up in one act. The child may convey such a meaning as "Give the book to me" by simply pointing to the object.

(b) Pointing is often used just in order to establish contact with something or somebody. Connection or contact with an object can be established in different ways: in the sphere of action by holding in hand or mouth, touching, or throwing something at the object; in the sphere of pointing by a gesture toward something; in the sphere of true language by naming it. The fact that naming things can function in this way is proved by the magic use of words. In this case the speaking or knowledge of words is taken as equivalent to a real connection with the object, to possession or mastery of it.³

Therefore it is not surprising that pointing, too, is used quite often in order to establish an undifferentiated contact, in which possession, mastery, friendly contact, etc., are mixed in a complex manner. A deaf child likes to point at things and persons just as a hearing child likes to name them.⁴

It is difficult to give objective criteria by which one could say when pointing is used in this manner. The complex situation, the sometimes excessive use made of pointing which seems to go far beyond the needs of social communication, the accent of the gesture, all those combined give this impression. An example in which pointing used in this way was a real game is the following:

R (5:2)⁵ had been arranging anagram blocks in a little box. She holds up a block to the teacher who says "That is F." L stands beside her, looks at her blocks, and points to himself with a little scream. L (3:11) climbs up on the table, crouching over R's box, and points to himself. He picks up single anagrams. L holds up piece after piece. The two dig into the box together. They point to single anagram and to themselves. (It was clearly not a struggle for ownership.)

5. *Pointing, combined with gestures of the hand which indicate the direction of the desired movement, is used for a few gestures of command.* Such are the gestures for *come, go, lie down, get up, sit down*. The elaboration of the pointing gesture in these cases does not occur on the higher level to which phrases belong. For example in the command "Sit on this

³ Cp., for instance, Malinowski (11, p. 490):

"In studying the infantile formation of meaning and the savage or illiterate meaning, we found this very magical attitude towards words. The word gives power, allows one to exercise an influence over an object or an action. . . . A word is used always in direct active conjunction with the reality it means. The word acts on the thing and the thing releases the word in the human mind. This indeed is nothing more or less than the essence of the theory which underlies the use of verbal magic."

⁴ Witte (15, p. 247 ff.) compares pointing with general directed movements and "actions-toward." DeLaguna (6, p. 70) describes the case of a child who expressed his interest in things by pointing to them, not primarily to find out their names, but as a "new kind of response in reference to the objects" which afforded pleasure in itself.

⁵ The ages, in years and months, of the children who play the principal rôles in each scene are given in this way throughout the paper.

chair" there is no special gesture for *sit* with another for *chair*. The command is global and does not need to be analyzed and recomposed again in the symbol field. Evocation and reference (*cf. p. 15*) are combined in one gesture and the elaboration follows directly in the perceptual field.

Other command gestures used are those for *wait* and *stop* which indicate the act of withholding. They also use the conventional gesture for silence.

6. *Facial expression*: Expressive movements of the face play, of course, a great rôle in the social intercourse of the deaf. They use it extensively to convey attitudes of anger, disgust, admiration, and to express question or command.⁶ On the whole one might be justified in saying that the hearing child expresses by speech melody what these children express by facial expression. Expression is not confined to the face but any movement or posture can express a definite attitude, for example of uncertainty, questioning, or domination. In this way the pointing gesture can express a question in itself without change of facial expression, although of course this is rarely done, especially by a child. For the possibility that a single organ may be used for the functions of representation and of expression at the same time, compare Buehler (3, p. 39).

7. *Yes and No*: The gestures of head-shaking and nodding are used in the same way as a hearing child uses the words yes and no. Stern points out that negation appears first in an affective-conative form: "The first *no* of the child does not mean 'no, that is not so,' and therefore does not constitute a negative judgment. It means 'No, it should not be so,' 'No, I don't want that,' 'No, you shouldn't do that,' that is, it represents a defensive attitude" (Stern, 13, p. 264). The same is true for the *yes* and *no* gestures of these children. It seems that nodding is used in this affective-conative way more than hearing children would use the corresponding word "yes." Nodding is used very often as a means of emphasizing something "I tell you, it is so," or "that's how it should be."

Yes and *no* gestures are not restricted to this expressive or evocative use. If a child points to a toy and to another child while shaking its head ("This does not belong to you") the *no* gesture is used in referential connection and really then means "not." That means that the gesture is no longer on the level of direct expression or evocation; it is part of a structure on the higher level of true symbolic language.

8. *Vocalizations*: Lastly vocalizations must be included in a list of means of communication. Vocalizations occur of course mostly as pure

⁶ For the importance of the facial expression in this respect *cf. Witte* (15, p. 249): "If in gesturing a question or a demand the face of the experimenter was covered the observers could not distinguish any more whether it was an imperative or an interrogative sentence."

expression. Screams of anger or of excitement or delight, which accompany other bodily activity, can be heard frequently. At the same time these vocalizations often function as evocations. The children are conscious of the fact that vocal noises attract the attention of other persons and they are used either in calling attention to oneself or to get attention for a specific request.

b. Determination of gestures by the context of the situation

It has been shown that the deaf child has a fairly wide range of tools of communication at his disposal. In another section of this paper there will be presented a more detailed consideration of what the deaf child without language can and cannot communicate. It is clear, however, that the greatest difference lies in the fact that the language tools of the deaf depend to a much greater extent than those of the normal child on the situation in which they are used. There are relatively few means of referring to an object without using the object itself as part of the communication, as is done in pointing. And the more the subject of the conversation goes beyond objects that can be specifically represented or pointed out the more the meaning comes to depend on the whole situation. This relation of context to meaning has been stressed by all students of the development of language.⁷ In the following its special significance for the deaf will be treated by showing how pointing is determined by the situation, and by discussing the question forms used by young deaf children. Combinations of pointing and the general question gesture with facial expression and yes and no gestures will receive attention.

1. Situation context and pointing: In translating these pointing gestures with their global meanings into language with words and sentences we have to keep in mind that we are not merely translating one language into another; we are transposing meanings of global structure into symbols which belong to a higher level.

As has been said, pointing can mean "Look at that" if the child wants to call the attention of another person to an object or situation; or it can mean "This is mine," if he wants to establish a connection between an object and himself. In these cases the child may point only to the object or only to himself, omitting the reference to the other member of the connection. Often double pointing occurs when the child points first to himself and then to the object. The accompanying facial expression and the situation determine the meaning of this connection still further. It may mean, when the facial expression is boasting or beaming, "Look what

⁷ Cf. Malinowski, Buehler, Stern, Laguna.

I have" or "Look what I made," according to whether the child made the object or whether it is only in his possession. Again when another child threatens to take something away the pointing gesture may be used as a means of protecting property by affirming its ownership. A hearing child might say in such a case, "Don't take this, it is mine."

If, however, the object is not in the possession of the child, the same pointing gestures and almost the same facial expression may mean "I want that." That is, the connection between child and object is indicated to the other person as something that is wished for, not something that really exists. If the child establishes a connection between a broken object and himself the pointing usually means "I did that." Table II shows how

TABLE II

THE DETERMINATION OF MEANING BY FACIAL EXPRESSION AND SITUATION IN CASES OF POINTING

SITUATION	FACIAL EXPRESSION	WHAT A HEARING CHILD WOULD SAY
object in possession of child	boasting, beaming	look what I have
object made by child	same	look what I made
object in possession of child and other child threatens	threatening	don't take this, it is mine
object not in possession of child	tension	I want that, may I have that, please give me that, etc.

situation and facial expression amplify the meaning of pointing to himself and to an object.

A few more cases may be described in which the situation determines the meaning of pointing gestures. For example when anything undesirable happened, when two children ran into each other and fell, when a toy broke, or when a block building fell down, one child might point to another to say, "It is your fault."

When two children were building together with blocks pointing was commonly used by one to say to the other "Put it there." Pointing to the teacher often had the meaning, "I shall tell her."

In another case it was used to indicate a need, after a direct approach had failed. John tried to take a block from Jane. Jane refused. John then pointed to a gap in his building. By pointing to the incomplete structure he indicated, "I must have it."

Thus it will be seen that the deaf child is much more dependent upon the situation to make clear what he wishes to communicate than the hearing child of the same age. This difference is important since, as DeLaguna

has shown, it corresponds to a difference between older and younger hearing children (6, p. 25).

Even adult language is not, however, entirely independent of the situation for its meaning. Buehler, who calls speech which is dependent on the situation in this way "empractical," shows that there are situations which are so clearly defined that a single word suffices to control and direct the behavior of the persons concerned. That is the case, for instance, in buying a moving picture ticket when the single word "downstairs" suffices for the whole transaction. He says (4, p. 156): "Speech islands appear in the sea of the silent but univocal social behavior at such places where a differentiation . . . or a choice between several possibilities has to be made and can be indicated conveniently by the insertion of a word."

2. *Questions*: The use of questions by young deaf children illustrates again the importance of the context of a situation in conveying meanings. Pointing is used to indicate the object of the question. The question itself is conveyed by means of a gesture or expression which DeLaguna has described as one of hesitation or uncertainty but the specific meanings like, *who*, *what*, *where*, and *when* can be indicated only when the context is sharply enough defined to make them clear. DeLaguna's description of the development of the question is important for our study since our observations show that, on the whole, the questions of deaf children follow the pattern described by DeLaguna for the simplest question.

"We observed earlier that the question is a specialized form of speech whose specific function it is to elicit directly a *verbal* response. The question already exists in rudimentary form at the stage of the sentence word. But it is not until the appearance of complete predication that the question becomes fully differentiated. In its rudimentary form it marks mere hesitation and uncertainty . . . and may be answered by signs of affirmation and negation—primitive attitudes which tend to confirm or inhibit the course of action with reference to which the question has been asked. But with explicit predication there arises a new form of question, which is complementary to the complete declarative sentence. This is the *what* question—with its variants, the *who*, *when*, and *where* questions. . . . The response to the primitive questions could influence primary behavior in only two alternative ways—either by confirming or discouraging the questioner in the behavior with reference to which the question was asked. The verbal reply to the completely developed question, however, controls primary behavior conditionally and hence in a great variety of possible ways." (6, pp. 283 f.)

The larger number of questions asked by deaf children were of this more rudimentary form to which only a *yes* or *no* answer in regard to a given course of action was expected. However, we also find many cases in which predication is implied and the more specific question forms are communicated. Following is an example of a *what* question:

J (6:5) approaches D and points to a lump under the end of a blanket which he is carrying, with a questioning gesture.

J expects as an answer to be shown the object concealed by the blanket rather than to be told its name, but the implication of the question is clearly "what."

Pointing at a broken dish with a questioning expression is equivalent to "Who broke it?" *Where* questions (Cf. p. 24) can also be expressed when the situation is such that the uncertainty which is conveyed by the facial expression or the gesture of the hand can only refer to a place determination. That is the case when the child is looking for something. The questioning expression then means *where is it?* When a child carries a chair to the table and expresses uncertainty as he holds the chair the question means, "Where shall I put it?"

In these cases the requested answer is not a mere *yes* or *no* sign; the child does not merely want to know whether he should go on with an action or not. He induces a presentation of an object or a place, both of which can be done by pointing, without naming. *When*, on the other hand, can probably not be asked or answered by the deaf child until he has learned some concrete way of referring to a time system. In schools for the deaf the calendar work often provides a frame of reference which the deaf child can utilize in his early means of expression by pointing before he can speak.

Another kind of question which we find that the deaf child can ask is the question of permission: "May I have that?" This form will be discussed in greater detail in the section which deals with social behavior (p. 40) since it is important in showing the extent to which other persons are part of the child's life space.

In regard to all the question forms we see that while the deaf child is able to ask most of the kinds of question used by the young hearing child, he can actually do so only when the situation allows it, that is when the reference both to the object of the question and to its specific meaning are supplied by the situation. Following are a few questions taken from our observations of hearing children which the deaf child could probably not express:

"What do you think they are going to do with those things?"

Two children have gone into the middle of the yard. One runs back to the house. The other asks, "Shall I run back after you?"

"Then I aren't going to play with them."

"Why?"

"I don't want to."

Two children are playing on the swing. One says to the other. "Want to stop and start all over again?"

c. A survey of the language of the deaf in terms of stages of language development in normal children

Our summary of the means of communication of deaf children affords a very inadequate picture of their language development until we have drawn comparisons with the language development of hearing children and have considered more closely what the deaf child is able to communicate by means of the tools at his disposal. In this section we shall compare the language development of deaf and hearing children and in the following chapter we shall consider what the deaf child can and cannot talk about with the limited means of communication at his disposal.

One of the most important steps in the language development of hearing children is the transition from the one-word sentence to the real phrase. Delacroix has said: "The phrase marks the acquisition of a new procedure, the decomposition of a global intention by discourse and the power to express in detail all that which at the previous stage remained merely implicit (*sous-entendu*). The isolated words of the child have the intention of phrases, but not their structure" (5, p. 88).

DeLaguna, too, has expressed the importance of this step (6, p. 107): "The transition from the sentence-word with all its rudimentary structure to the complex sentence with all its differentiated functional parts, is the first and most momentous stage in this evolution. It marks as important a phase in social and psychological evolution as did the appearance of distance-receptors of sight and hearing in the evolution of the individual organism."

Buehler especially emphasizes the fact that a developed language is a system of two classes, words and sentences. He says that the existence or non-existence of sentences is the best criterion for the distinction between real languages and prelinguistic means of communication like the simpler gestures and facial expression.

There can be no doubt that these young deaf children use combinations of gestures which are equivalent to real phrases. They are able to analyze perceptually given situations into concept-like units and to combine them again on the new level of a "symbol field" (Buehler).

The two most complicated phrases in our observations are found to have an antithetical structure which is also often found in the verbal expression of hearing children (Stern, 13, p. 206).

R (6:3) comes to the Observer, points to the block house and to himself, nods his head, (Yes).

He points to M and to the house and shakes his head emphatically, (No). (He built it, not M.)

AND (4:10) to A: He points to a picture of a boy sawing a piece of wood and to himself.

Then he points to A and shakes his head. ("I am going to saw and you are not.")

In these "sentences" the object reference is supplied by pointing which serves to analyze the situation. They show also what the first achievement of the synthesis on the higher level is. It is the simple connection differentiated only in regard to affirmation or negation. The situation determines more exactly this undifferentiated connection.

Double pointing is used quite frequently in order to refer to an undifferentiated connection. Here we refer to it only in order to show that in their language development these children have passed this critical point of transition from the one-word sentence to real phrase. With hearing children the first real sentences appear at about one and one-half or two years (*Cf. Stern, 13, pp. 198 ff.*). Since pre-school deaf children make use of gesture combinations which are equivalent to simple phrases, it may be said that, in regard to this single criterion, they are at a stage of language development which is characteristic of hearing children of two or two and one-half years. Related to the transition from the one-word sentence to the phrase is the development of the representative, or referential, function of language. In the following discussion Buehler's distinction between three functions of language: expression, evocation, and representation will be used. A language phenomenon may be considered in regard to the speaker and the emotions which he wants to express by it; in regard to the social relation between speaker and listener, *i.e.*, the influence which the speaker exerts on the listener; and lastly in regard to the objective facts or situation which are referred to. Following Buehler, Stern speaks of three fundamental tendencies of language, the expressive, the social, and the intentional tendency, and Lewis, to whom we owe credit for the most careful analysis of the earliest beginnings of speech in the infant, uses the termini emotive, evocative, and referential functions.

On the whole it may be said that in the earliest stages of speech the emotive and evocative functions are predominant, while the referential function slowly emerges and only later becomes explicit and independent of direct expression and evocation. "The child's experience, both in uttering specific words and in responding to them, has at the outset an affective-conational basis, as well as some direction of his attention towards objective elements of the situation. This objective direction gradually becomes more prominent" (Lewis, 9, p. 162).

This gradual development of the referential function is a complicated process and closely connected with the development of rational thinking and the establishment of a behavioral environment.

When the rôle language plays in the behavior of the children observed is discussed it will be necessary to consider the referential function in connection with concrete examples. Here it may suffice to mention two points:

1. Although explicit reference is much less dominant in the language of these children than in the language of hearing children of equal age, it is not entirely absent. This is shown for instance by the examples of phrases given before. Phrases are impossible without word-like constituents with explicit reference function. Of the tools of communication which we enumerated the ones under numbers 1-5 can all be used to refer to objects. It is true, however, that spoken words and gestures with definite object reference are relatively rare.

2. The comparison with hearing children in regard to the stage of development of the referential function is made difficult by the fact that the main tool of reference of these children is pointing. Reference by pointing is different from reference by words in that with pointing there is no definite connection between gesture and object. "Pointing may discriminate a single object in the situation; but it cannot *specify*, because it does not change its form according to the kind of object" (DeLaguna, p. 271). In another section we shall talk about the limitations of pointing as an instrument of reference which are implied by this fact.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that pointing stands at the threshold of real reference and representation (Buhler, 2, p. 41; DeLaguna, 6, pp. 99 f.). It is no longer, like an action, a response to a situation-as-a-whole; it singles out a specific object and represents a coördination to that object as such. Thus it is possible that it, just like a word, can be used as an element in a phrase.

IV. LIMITATIONS OF THE CONTENT OF COMMUNICATION

WE SHALL now discuss the limitations of the content of communication. In this chapter these limitations will be considered as they restrict the region of objects to which one can refer, in the next chapter from the point of view of the social acts which are possible in this limited environment. We cannot wholly separate these two points of view in our discussion, but in this chapter our emphasis will be on the restriction in regard to what the children can "talk about."

One should suppose that social intercourse which is confined to the means of communication enumerated above would be limited to a great extent. In most cases the "language" of the young deaf child probably can be compared to speech which is limited to the single sentence-word about which DeLaguna speaks (6, p. 94):

"Speech which is limited to the sentence-word can mediate coöperative action only with reference to a situation which is perceptually present to both parties concerned. Furthermore it can serve to control only a simple sort of behavior, which does not depend on an analysis of the situation. A situation which is perceptually present to both parties may be so complex that the significance of the single-term utterance is indeterminate or ambiguous. What brought about the evolution of the sentence was, then, (1) the need for coöordinated action beyond the limits of the common perceptually present situation, (2) the need for coöordinating such complex and varied behavior as depends on analysis of the situation."

These two classes of limitation which DeLaguna mentions are also characteristic of pointing, the main instrument of reference with young deaf children. Pointing is dependent on a situation which is perceptually present to both parties concerned. Only when an organization occurs in perception itself and refers to something beyond the immediately present situation is it possible to refer to it by pointing. On the whole therefore past, future, necessity, and possibility, are difficult to express by the means at the disposal of the deaf child.

Secondly, it is difficult to convey the more "abstract" aspects of the present situation by pointing. One can point to a thing, but it is difficult to point to a property of a thing, or a relation.

In the following several categories will be discussed which refer to entities beyond the immediate perceptual situation.

a. Imaginary play

Cases of imaginary play belong, with hearing children, to the most important instances of behavior which refers to objects beyond the reality of the immediately present situation. Do young deaf children have imaginary play, and how do they communicate the content of their play?

This question is important not only in regard to the intellectual development but also in regard to the social development of the children. The Chicago school of sociologists, especially G. H. Mead, considers the "rôle taking" in the imaginary play of young children as the main factor in building up the ideas of the "self" and of the "other person." Young (16, p. 170) says:

"In the child's playing of these rôles with his companions or when he is alone, language has a central place, and as he talks to his fellows or to himself—in the varied rôles—he hears himself talking and replies. . . .

Originally, of course, this interaction takes place at overt and conversational levels, but, as it becomes internalized or introjected, an inner forum of activity develops imaginatively and finds expression in both overt and symbolic taking of others' rôles. As we noted above, this is fundamental to the child's learning to act as others anticipate he will act. It is, in short, the process of socialization, that is, the taking over of another person's habits, attitudes, and ideas and the reorganizing of them into one's own system" (p. 170).

The following case from our observations of hearing children shows the importance of language in rôle-taking. A member of a group said, "Let's be cows resting." At once the whole group lay down, apparently doing nothing, yet for the children, as one learned from their later conversation, something real and impressive was going on. They were *being* cows. Naming alone had established the rôle. Obviously this type of behavior, which is so important for hearing children at these ages, is limited with deaf children who have few words or word gestures at their command. They are more or less restricted to the level of action and can usually establish such a rôle only by pantomime that pictures the cow in some concrete way, and they can probably not sustain the rôle without continued descriptive behavior.

Cases in which single children act out scenes and imitate movements which occupy their interest at the moment are not restricted by the difficulty of communication. The following is an example:

D (6:2) is playing boat alone, in a large box. The others come and go and occasionally enter in for a moment, but the continuity is not broken. He fastens strips of paper to the blocks with tacks, turns an imaginary crank. He reaches for something in the box and leans forward, touching the edges of the box all around (apparently arranging something that is fastened at regular intervals along the edge of the "boat"). He rows with a single stick. This "oar" strikes the edge of the boat

regularly. He resists M when she approaches and wants to show him a picture book. He has looked at one with her, but pushes her away with the "oar" when she comes with another. She returns, goes in front of his boat, and lies on the floor and "swims." J joins her . . . they lie on blocks on the floor "swimming."

The teacher has told Bu to feed the fish. M (6:9) runs up and holds out her hand for fish food. The teacher says, "No." M then goes to the fish bowl and goes through all the motions of feeding the fish, shaking food from an imaginary can into her hand, emptying it into the bowl, and running across the room to the desk to put the imaginary can away, just as Bu has done in carrying out the real action.

Other cases of pretending were "eating" (with blocks or crayons); eating at a table with scarves as napkins and wooden rings with pegs as the candles of an imaginary birthday cake; serving food; reading; building a boat or airplane; doctor play, driving a car with an imaginary steering wheel, putting on make-believe cap and boots, etc. Following are a few cases in which play of this kind was shared by several children:

J (6:6) and K (6:3) play nurse with M (6:8) as the invalid: J and K begin dressing M, place a white cloth over her shoulders. J is in a chair with M on her lap. J leaves the chair and M sits alone. K fastens the cloth around M's neck. J climbs over M, touches her forehead, looks surprised and shows K (obviously wants to indicate that M has a fever). Gestures indicate that M should lie down and sleep. K shakes her head. J sits on M's lap and looks into her mouth. K continues tying on scarves. M is passive. J hunts for something in a box. Goes around to the other side. J is sitting on M's lap reaches for the box of objects. Works on M's face. Holds up a bowl and puts it down again.

D (6:0) and BU (5:2) are inside an enclosure made of blocks. BU gives a toy pistol to D. . . . BU is on the box. D shows him in pantomime that he must drop when he is shot. There is high excitement. M is on the floor. D tries to show her how she should behave when he shoots.

It can be seen from these examples that acting "as if," pretending, or imaginary play is very well possible for young deaf children without language. It may be that only an organism that has the ability to acquire language can carry on true pretending, but it is certainly not necessary that the language be already available.

The last example shows further that the deaf child can resort to pantomime to show others how they are to behave. In these cases the pantomime has an evocative function. It is used to control the behavior of others and is often sufficient to unite a group in common activity that goes beyond the objective situation in its significance. At the same time it may be inadequate for making others understand what is meant, often in cases in which a single word would serve to determine the situation and carry it on for the hearing child. The following examples illustrate these cases:

A group of children was in the play room. D (5:5) was pulling N (4:1) about in a wagon with the board of a seesaw balanced across it. The board falls off. N

replaces the board, but puts it on lengthwise instead of crosswise as it was at first. D sits on a car beside the wagon, and scowls (angrily). He stands up and talks to N (exasperated). He continues trying to explain to N. Appeals to the teacher (to help him make it clear to N how the board should go).

The observer had noticed that the board lay across the wagon in such a way as to approximate the proportions of an airplane, and from D's gestures to the teacher it seemed clear that he had "made" an airplane. For N it was only a "board on a wagon" and the direction of the board was irrelevant. D's exasperation seemed to come from the fact that N disregarded his idea, rather than from a desire to have the board in one position rather than another for its own sake. It was interesting that the tension was resolved only after D had induced N to place the board in the required position himself. The act of placing it in the position required by the airplane idea probably gave D proof that his game was recognized and shared by the other.

In another, longer scene the child fails to secure recognition for his idea and then modifies his idea so as to join in the game that he thinks the others are playing. In the first stage *And* (4:10) is building a cage for animals but D (5:5) sees the enclosure only as a place where any sort of object may be put. After a little protest *And* accepts this modification of his original game and joins with the others in carrying objects of different kinds to it. But then the others begin simply piling objects up and ruining the cage itself. *And* cries out in exasperation but once more joins the others in their game and helps in the final destruction of his own creation. At the end he throws himself across a low table with his face in his hands, yet he still has some pride in the completeness of the destruction which he and the others have accomplished. Following is the detailed account of this scene:

1'.⁸ The teacher (T) is putting blocks away, AND helps her and begins to stand them up on end along the edges of two long tables that are standing end to end against the wall under the slate. (The blocks make a fence around the outside edges of the tables.)

2'. D crawls under the tables behind AND's fence. AND is excited by the situation and squeals to T. (It was as though he had been lining the blocks up without any particular plan and now suddenly sees that he has made a cage or some sort of enclosure.)

3'. J is lying on the tables and looks under into the cage. AND is busy enclosing D. He peers in through the cracks. D looks out. AND laughs and sticks his hand in (cautiously as though to touch a caged animal). D breaks out the other end.

4'. AND squeals and crawls on all fours to repair the end through which D broke

⁸In all longer quotations from observations the time will be indicated in minutes by numbers at the left.

out. D crawls away. AND crawls in and wants J to join him. D starts repairing the cage. J crawls out. AND crawls out.

5'. AND squeals to T, (wants her to go in). She pretends, says, "Bow wow wow." AND insists, pointing that she should go in. She explains that she is too large. She tells him to get N (4:1) to go in. N and AND go in. D is busy repairing the walls. N kicks out his end.

6'. D tries to force N to return. T intervenes. AND watches (looks jolly). Runs around to the end. (He seems to have an idea.)

7'. AND starts closing the walls again. T asks him to be quiet. He begins to move the blocks with great care. She gets him a toy dog and tells him that he can put it in instead of herself.

8'. N and the dog are inside. N crawls out. AND squeals, protest. T gives him another dog.

9'. D brings a third toy dog. AND is alone at the cage. D comes with an armful of boards and wants to put them into the cage.

10'. AND draws himself up and shakes his head, "No." He protests to T. D returns bringing a box. AND lets him put them into the cage. AND gets another block for the wall. (Apparently AND had thought of it as a "cage" for animals; D sees it only as a place where "things" of any sort may be put.)

11'. AND stands the block up in place. D brings more and more material. AND lets him put it in. (Passive acceptance of the situation.)

12'. T comes to look and asks "How many?" AND squeals. He is kneeling on the floor and turns himself around on his hand and knees (with delight). He turns for another block. L begins to bring things from the bookcase.

13'. AND cries out (protest) to T. She says that L may bring them. D and L bring more and more objects. (Further transgression against his idea of the cage.)

14'. AND returns carrying another block. A meets him, leads him to the assistant's (AT) table. He goes, passively, with his block in his hand, then returns to the cage and sits back watching the others fill it in. The others go away and AND hastily seals it with his last block.

15'. He moves this block when D brings some books to put in. He squeals to T and shows her that the book shelves are all empty. . . . (Now he falls in with the idea of the others and takes pride in what has been done.)

16'. AND goes to AT and shows the empty shelves. He stands near the table, runs and asks for the things from the cabinet. (Active coöperation.)

17'. D and L bring rugs. AND is at one side. He clasps his hand. . . . Shows T (with great pride).

18'. AND helps D and L to carry loose boards to the cage. Shows Observer.

19'. T tells them not to bring more things. AND stands, with his hands on his hips and watches.

20'. AND works, closing the cage once more. . . . D opens the cage. AND closes it again.

21'. AND watches as D breaks into the cage from the other end and everything spills out. . . . D runs away. AND begins closing the cage again.

22'. AND works on the fence. D brings a tiny chair and a car and opens one end of the cage to put them in. They are too large.

23'. D opens the side wall as well. AND cries out, (with exasperation). He stands, with his hands on his hips and looks at AT, clasping his hands. He comes to the

Observer and points. (His expression says, "Isn't that the limit?" Now even the second stage of the idea, of the cage as a container for any sort of "thing" is violated.)

24'. D goes on spoiling the wall and piling his car and chair in. AND goes to the end of the room and brings back a large box. He drags it with J's help to one side of the cage. (Apparently he accepted the fact that D was spoiling the cage with his big objects and once more joined in.) He follows AT to the hall.

25'. AND returns and looks at the wreckage that D has made of the cage. He lies across the round table with his face in his hands. He props his head on his arm, raises one leg, and watches D spoil the cage. AT sends A for AND. AND shows A the empty shelves and the pile of objects in the cage. (Despair, yet some pride still in what has been accomplished.)

26'. AT calls AND. AND shouts defiance, hides, grins at AT. . . .

27'. AND is taken out of the room to work. He insists that A go also.

To summarize: Imaginary play is possible for deaf children, but in cases in which more than one child is involved it is largely restricted to the level of action. The rôle play which is very important for hearing children of these ages, is especially limited. The deaf child often initiates group play that breaks down because he is unable to make the nature of his imaginary situation clear, as the hearing child would, by using a few words to supplement the pantomimic presentation.

b. Past and future

As we mentioned deaf children can express *I made that* or *He did that*; that is they are able to refer to the past in certain cases, or as we may say more cautiously, to facts which are usually expressed in language by forms involving reference to the past. This is possible for them because parts of the immediate concrete environment are structured in such a way as to refer directly to the past: we can see "traces." When Robinson Crusoe and Friday found footprints in the sand, a simple question gesture would have mediated the meaning: "Who has walked here?" Similarly, a deaf child, by pointing to a broken dish and to another child can express: "He did it." The broken dish is "centered" in the past event of breaking, and a connection between that event and a person acquires the meaning *He did it*.

Hearing children can and do, of course, refer to the past in a much more definite and freer way. Traces in the environment are not necessary in order that they talk about past events. Further, they can give a specific time index to past events as a deaf child without language cannot.

A few examples of references to the past which would be impossible for a deaf child to communicate follow:

I saw you down town yesterday.

I told you to.

Put that back where it was.

J is a good little boy. He gave me the swing

I'm sorry but I have been here more than you. I looked for you but you didn't come.

In this last example one child is explaining to another that she has lost her place as his companion because she has been away from the school group. (A more detailed account of this situation is given on page 43). In this case the present situation is cleared up in a surprisingly articulate way by explaining its history.

By reference to the past we do not of course mean merely objective connection with events which occurred in the past. Every imaginary play contains connections with the past; the children reënact scenes they have seen sometime in the past. In our examples it is sometimes possible to point out a specific event in the past which the children reënacted. But in the reënaction itself there was no reference to history. The children cannot easily express *We saw this*; and *This happened yesterday*, with its definite time reference, would be still more difficult for them.

Reference to the future presents more problems than reference to the past. There is usually nothing in the present situation which would indicate a future event as definitely as an environmental trace indicates a past event. This means that in most cases a reference to the future would require the child to step out of the play situation in which he is engaged and enter upon the entirely different task of communicating what he is planning by means of symbolic gestures of some sort. It is probably on this account that reference to the future, although it plays a more important part than reference to the past in the activities of hearing children, is less common with the deaf.

Nevertheless there are certain cases in which reference to the future enters into the social intercourse of young deaf children. For example it plays a definite rôle in cases in which one child threatens to take something from another. But in these cases the intercourse stays entirely on an action level. The action unit of taking extends over time and its beginning can imply its ending.

Similarly asking for something may carry a certain implication of the future. Lewis says (10, p. 48): "The general development with reference to the future seems to be as follows. Much of the child's speech, precisely because it is manipulative, and directed toward the satisfaction of needs, has from an early period something of a future looking direction. The adult, by questions and remarks, frequently incites the child to refer to his needs, and thus to make a manipulative reference to the future." But he cautions (10, p. 42 ff.): "When the child says *guga* trying to get chocolate . . . he is using words manipulatively in the effort to draw attention to an

object which he wishes to be brought into the present situation. And in all these cases it is clear that the child's utterance is much more an expression of his needs within the present situation than any reference to an absent object."

But with hearing children reference to the future goes beyond these cases and we find also frequent announcements of what they are about to do. For example:

I'm going to get on here.

Come on with me. I'll show you.

I'll push you. (On the swing.)

In some cases the announcements give a more definite indication of a time sequence:

First we'll push, then we'll look.

Can I have a turn after you? (Other child) Wait till I get down.

If one translates this last example into the behavior of deaf children the following interchange results: one child could have gestured by pointing *I want to get on that swing* (pointing to himself and to the swing). The other child would in most cases have responded with the head gesture for *no*. Or it could have expressed a general *wait*. But it could not have expressed so exactly the time relationships involved.

Thus it can be seen that the deaf child can refer to future time in his conversation but in a more restricted and less exact way than the hearing child. The importance of reference to the future for social coördinations and differences in its use between deaf and hearing children will be discussed on page 32.

c. Reference to absent objects

Related to the problem of reference to past and future is that of reference to absent objects. The object itself can be made the subject of communication only if it can be represented univocally in some way. What the young deaf child can communicate by descriptive gestures and the few symbolic gestures at his disposal is obviously very limited in comparison with the noun vocabulary of hearing children. Pointing can be of no use when the object of the communication is not present.

When the child wishes to tell or ask the location of an object which is not present he has the double task of indicating the object and of indicating its location. For an object which is known to be near at hand the child can point to the place where it is concealed or in the direction in which he knows it has gone. For objects which are more remote gestures of more definite symbolic content are necessary. Two were used in our observa-

tions, often with some attempt to speak the conventional words, one for *home*, and the other for a more indefinite *away*. *Home* was used very frequently. Whenever a new object appeared several of the group would proclaim proudly that they had one at home. The great number of exact place references used by the young hearing children, such as *in the box*, *in the other room*, *down town*, *in Boston* are not possible in the communications of the deaf children.

d. Necessity and possibility

Reference to events as being necessary or possible also implies transcending of the immediate concrete situation. Expression of necessity in the form "*We got to, We have to, or — has to*" is often used by hearing children to emphasize the seriousness or importance of their actions. It implies an idea of requiredness and a reference to objective features of the situation. It is this objective requiredness which introduces the character of seriousness.

We got a lot to do haven't we?

We've got to take these away.

It is impossible for deaf children to express these meanings except when the situation itself can give that meaning to their pointing gestures. On page 11 we quoted one of the few clear statements of necessity that appear in our material.

Possibility as expressed by *can* has several uses for hearing children. It may be used in objective situations.

A lot can go in. (In regard to packing play materials into a box.)

You can't get out.

Or it may be used in the sense *I can*, that is *I am able to do something* as bragging or showing off. Reference to possibilities has this meaning since the social status of a person is determined to a great extent by what he can do or what he can allow himself.

Communications of corresponding meaning are not found from the deaf children, but again examples can be found which probably have similar value as far as their social function is concerned. A deaf child, for example, can brag about his activities by showing what he has done or is doing. In other words he can make his status socially real in this sense, but only in the sphere of concrete action and not by direct reference to the possibility. This kind of behavior, although it may have similar social value, is not to be compared in its range of applicability with the expression of possibility by means of language.

e. Evaluating statements

Whether evaluating statements refer to facts or express attitudes will not be discussed. They are treated here because they contain meanings which cannot be found in the perceptually present situation and cannot be conveyed simply by pointing to some concrete object. The importance of language in establishing values is emphasized by Murphy (12, p. 81):

"In the society of adults, words play an important part in consolidating, reinforcing, or inhibiting different kinds of behavior. In fact words are so important that discussions of ethics, aesthetics, or values of any kind are usually based largely on verbal judgments. Among young children who are just beginning to assimilate the verbal culture around them, we would not expect elaborate verbal expressions of value. Still, words are rapidly assimilated as an aid to self-defense and as a means of expression of positive or negative value, and they reveal the criteria of social behavior first absorbed by children. 'Bad,' 'good,' 'nice,' 'big,' 'clean,' 'funny,' and 'pretty' are the ones that appear most frequently in these groups."

In our own material the hearing children used phrases like *That is right* or *That is the way* very often to express valuation. For example when they were sitting in a group at a table pasting stars on colored paper:

This one's right.
 Mine's always right.
 That isn't the way.
 I haven't got mine good.

The deaf can express approval of an act or thing by pointing to it and nodding or by approving facial expression; disapproval is expressed in the same way just by shaking the head, or by shaking the head with an expression of disgust. The moving picture material described in the appendix (Cf. p. 49) gives good examples of this.

The idea: *It is right*, i.e. a statement about objective values, is not yet differentiated from the idea: *I like that*, i.e. a personal reaction. Of course the two attitudes are often not clearly distinguished for hearing children, but they have at least the different verbal expressions as cores around which attitudes can organize themselves.

In this connection may be mentioned a class of statements made by hearing children which one could describe as being general remarks about themselves or their own activities. For the most part they have the social function of self praise, of patting one's own shoulder. For example:

We are busy making big boxes, aren't we?
 We don't know, do we?
 I don't cry because mine broke.

Statements of this general kind, when they are made by deaf children are limited largely to the simple cases of "*I made it*," "*I did —*," or sometimes gestures of direct self-praise: *I am a large (good) boy*.

Reference to quality and quantity is frequently used by the hearing child in regard to his own achievement. He can say, "I got a bigger car at home," "Mine is better than yours," "Look how many I made." The deaf child can communicate such ideas only in cases in which the objective context of the situation itself points to the quality referred to. In our motion picture material we have a case in which deaf children made comparisons in terms of a single quality in this way. Two children stood up, each measuring himself against the other with his hand and gesturing to indicate that he is the taller. But ordinarily so many factors are involved in a situation that it is difficult, by gesture alone, to discuss a single quality without word symbols. The social function of these expressions is discussed in our section on "Ostentatious Presentation."

f. Reference to psychological events

Every language has many words and expressions which refer to "psychological" or "mentalistic" entities and processes like thinking, knowing, wanting, etc. If we accept Lewin's terminology we can say that these words refer to inner-personal regions or processes. The fact that language contains such words and can express such concepts brings about a greater separation of the person from the environment, and stabilizes such a separation.

First the part that reference to cognition plays in the verbal behavior of hearing children will be discussed. Hearing children use often *I think*, or *I guess* in combination with statements. It is, of course, difficult to decide whether this is pure verbalism, or real reference to a cognitive process and there are doubtless many transitional stages between the two possibilities. However, we can assume that in most cases there is a real difference for the child between saying *He did it*, and *I think he did it*. The second statement implies in some way a connection with the person of the speaker, and by that connection the reference to the event in the environment is modified.

That is very clear in the following cases:

Some people knocked my paste down. I guess you did.

What do you think they're going to do with those things? We don't know, do we?

In the last example *to know* is also used in a way which certainly goes beyond pure verbalism. Statements like *I know* are often connected with

social situations in which dominance plays a rôle. The child who knows something is superior, and he may brag about it and be rebuked by rivals.

E (4:0): I know where some violets are. Ei (4:5): Where?

E: I won't tell. I'll show you.

Another example:

G (3:9): I know where you live.

M (4:8): You don't know where I live.

G is below M in the social hierarchy of the class group. He is proud to participate in something that concerns M. M, on the other hand, resents that and rebukes him.

With deaf children, the only reference to cognitive processes consists of a very significant gesture. Pointing to the head accompanied by a tense facial expression means *I have an idea*, or *I know*.

With hearing children, frequent references to perceptual processes like looking, seeing, hearing, etc., are noted. Deaf children can, of course, influence the perception of other people without referring directly to perceptual processes. When a deaf child calls the attention of another person to a thing by pointing, the command "Look" and the reference to the object are both implied by the gesture. It is equivalent to the expression, "Look at that."

The hearing child, however, can also refer to perceptual processes in a way which involves a more explicit reference. This is especially the case when we are dealing with commands or statements that concern not the present situation but past or future. For example:

Go and look!

I looked for you but you didn't come.

In these examples the possibility of referring to the perceptual act, which is offered by the word *look* is made more explicit use of. Thus, the deaf can refer to *looking* implicitly by pointing to an object with the implied imperative aspect. But they cannot refer to the perceptual processes explicitly. They cannot, for instance, convey the meaning of the sentence: *He is looking at the ball*.

We find similar differences in regard to the expression of the needs of the person. Hearing children frequently use the phrase *I want*.

I want some scissors.

I want another crayon.

I want my pictures.

The deaf can express *I want that* implicitly by pointing to a thing, by tense facial expression, and in many cases by accompanying the pointing by a whining noise. The three functions of language, expression, evocation, and reference are inextricably fused in this complex. However, the sentence, *I want that*, contains three words, each having definite object reference: *I* refers to the speaker; *want* refers to the need; *that* refers to the wanted object. In the global pointing gesture these three references are fused and there exists no part which refers explicitly to the psychological fact of wanting.

The limitation of the natural gesture language of these young deaf children becomes at once apparent when we consider cases where more explicit reference to needs is required, as for instance in such statements:

She wants yellow (paper).

C doesn't want to push her.

I can cut out anyone I want.

The same is of course true of the negative form *I don't want*. The deaf can express that only as direct refusal by shaking the head.

It is interesting to note that the deaf can, to a certain extent, distinguish between *I want* and *I like*. *I like* is expressed by pointing accompanied by enthusiastic facial expression and sometimes nodding while in the expression of *I want* the movement of pointing itself often has "signal character" and expresses the imperative aspect of the gesture.

In all these cases the difference between expressing something on a lower level and expressing the "same thing" by specific symbols is clearly seen. Even when the deaf express what can be translated by *I want* and *Look* or what has at least the same social function as these phrases they do not have specific symbols to refer to a need or a perceptual function which they could combine in phrases. And if a certain gesture complex is translated by *I want* the fact must be kept in mind that this phrase is only to a certain extent equivalent to the conglomerate gesture appeal which has to be considered as one interjection, *I-want-that-please-give-me-that*. Only *that* stands out somewhat from this whole (the object of the pointing gesture); otherwise it contains no parts that would correspond to the words, *i.e.* to the parts of the phrase.

V. THE EFFECTS OF THE LIMITATIONS OF COMMUNICATION ON SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

SO FAR the limitations of the deaf child have been considered from the point of view of the content of communication, *i.e.*, of the objects to which it is possible for him to refer with the limited means of communication at his disposal. The importance of these limitations for different kinds of social contact will be considered next. It is clear that where such differences in the means of communication and in the structure of the communicable world exist there will be important differences in social behavior, especially as a large proportion of the normal child's social contacts involve language. Beaver for example, showed that 68% of all social contacts between two- and three-year old preschool children are verbal (1, Table VII).

In the following the general types of social approach which occurred among the deaf children observed in this study are considered and the behavior which is characteristic of each is discussed in comparison with that of hearing children.

a. The establishment of diffuse rapport

One can often observe, among small deaf children, intercourse which lacks any specific content and seems to be merely a babbling together. This kind of social intercourse is probably analogous to what Malinowski calls "phatic communion." The gestures and vocalizations that occur serve merely to establish rapport between the children. It is, of course, difficult to say whether there are not sometimes symbolic gestures which the observer does not recognize in what appears to be merely such an establishment of rapport among deaf children. However, one has a strong impression that such gestures, even if one does not know their meaning, usually stand out from the background of gesticulation which lacks genuine object reference.

b. Simple presentation

Social acts like showing or telling whose direct function is to make another person aware of some object or situation will be designated as "presentation." Calling-attention-to and statements are cases of presentations. The direct function of such social acts is only to bring an object or situation into another person's lifespaces. Social acts like commands,

requests, etc., whose function is to bring about action from another person will be designated as "demands."

Presentations are closely related to demands. On the one hand calling-attention-to very often induces action in the other person insofar as perceptual turning towards something involves an activity. Pointing at an object in order to call attention to it is, if we translate it into developed language, equivalent to a command: "Look at that." However, this command refers only to the perceptual activity of turning towards the object which is necessary in order to bring the object into one's life space.

On the other hand one may call attention of another person to something in order to induce him to an action. A gesture whose direct function is presentation may have the indirect function of a demand. One relies, so to speak, on the assumption that if the other person is only informed of the situation to which one calls attention, he will do something about it and act in a way which conforms to one's wishes. The same is true of a statement. The direct function of a statement is to present something. Very often, however, a statement can have the indirect function of a request or a command.

In spite of these relations between presentations and demands we think it practicable to make this distinction between them. The means of presentation are mainly the following: pointing, holding up the object, vocalizations like shouting, squealing, screaming; physical contact with the other person: touching, pounding arm, pulling the garments or turning the head of the other person in the direction of the object.

The referent of presentation may be of objective interest. The child is interested in something and wants to show it to another person or tell about it. He wants the other person to share his experience.

Among the objects to which attention is called we find in our observations of deaf children: a person who has just appeared, a loose screw on the jungle gym, toys, books, the observer's stop watch, etc.

Similar to the cases of calling attention to things of objective interest are those in which the child wants to tell something only for the sake of telling it when this telling has no means-end quality. He does not want help or explanation; he simply wants to state a fact and communicate it. To this group belong most of the more complicated phrases of which we gave examples before (*Cf. p. 14*).

It is interesting to note, that the linguistically most developed utterances in our material are cases of presentation. They serve to establish contact with the other person, not to induce coöperation. This fact does not lend

support to the theories that contend that the need for regulating coöperative behavior was of prime importance in the development of symbolic language.

Announcing what one is doing or is going to do is a special form of presentation that is fairly common with hearing children. The examples given on page 24 illustrate the way in which announcing can help push social coördination forward in time. The chief difference between deaf and hearing children in their use of this form of discourse is that deaf children cannot coördinate their future behavior in the exact way that hearing children do. As a rule a deaf child calls attention in a general way to what he is already doing instead of announcing specifically what he is going to do next. He makes announcements only in a situation that is so clearly defined that he can refer to the future with a simple gesture or word or change of expression without entirely withdrawing from the activity that is going on. A case of this sort is described in one of the motion picture scenes of the appendix (*p.* 49). Two children are sitting at tables drawing, and by means of a single descriptive gesture one child can tell the other what he is about to draw from time to time.

Announcing one's future activities can thus serve a very important purpose in the social life of the children. By adapting themselves mutually to their future expectations they make their life spaces more stable and secure. That is also very important for the relationship between the child and the world of adults. Hearing children can understand when they are told what future happenings are to be expected and that often saves them a thwarting of their expectations. A deaf child often cannot be told and therefore his world is probably much more often shaken and disturbed by influences from the outside which run counter to his expectations and therefore assume hostile meaning.

In some cases the announcing has only the function of making another person aware of one's activity to such an extent that he shares it cognitively. This sharing gives the activity itself greater social reality. Examples of such announcements are:

I'm bringing them away now.
I put this pine wood over there.
I'm filling my truck with blocks.
I'm going to drive the car.
I'm going to get a chair.

There is, of course, no sharp boundary between these announcements and others which point to the next stage in the play and serve more definitely to coördinate the activities of a group. For example:

Then we pick them up and put them into the ocean. Then we come back after these.

As with the use of announcing for social coördination we rarely find anything comparable with deaf children, except the general calling-attention-to which usually has a more ostentatious character.

c. Ostentatious presentation

The referent of presentation is often the connection of a thing or action with the ego of the child. The children want to call attention to themselves and in order to do so they call attention to the things they have, to the things they have made, or to the actions they are performing. The motive of these presentations is not simply the tendency to establish contact, or to share one's experiences; it is much more the wish to gain admiration and to improve one's social status. The child wants to influence another person's attitude toward himself (*cf.* the discussion of evaluating statements, page 26).

Consideration will first be given to these cases in which the connection is between a thing and the ego and then to those in which it is between an action and the ego.

With hearing children the presentation of a connection between a thing and the ego shows the following typical forms: "Look what I have," and "Look what I made." We may quote the following representations from our observations on hearing children:

I got this one. Look at mine.

Look at all mine.

Look what I got.

I got a spoon.

Look there I got a lot.

I got some snips cut out.

I made two already.

Because the deaf child can refer to a thing by pointing at it, it is easy for him to present or demonstrate a connection between himself and a thing. The presentation may be carried out by pointing at the thing and at himself, or it may be performed by a single pointing, or just showing the object. The situation determines whether this double pointing means *Look what I made* or *Look what I did*. The main difference between deaf and hearing children in regard to presentations of this class is that the hearing child can brag and impress the other person much more efficiently because he can refer to quality or amount more effectively.

Reference to quantity is especially important for competitive situations which often consist of a sequence of bragging presentations, as shown in

the following conversation. (The children were cutting silver stars out of a piece of figured wall paper.)

S (4:1): I got two already, teacher. One, two, three.

K (4:11): I got three there.

S: I got four.

S: Look how much I got. I got one, two, three.

Teacher: And one more makes how many?

S: I got five.

(A few minutes later as they were pasting the stars on pieces of colored paper)

M (4:9): I got three on. Look how much I got on. (Pause.)

M: I got only two left, Mrs. S. I got three on my card.

K (4:11): I got four. Oh, boy. I'm beating. Oh boy, Oh boy, am I getting!

These verbal presentations with reference to the amount of work done help greatly in the organization of a competitive group. Further the child who can speak can make his point with the whole group without stopping his work and without having to get the attention of each one separately.

The presentation of a connection between an action and the ego is brought about by hearing children by sentences like *Look what I am doing*. Often the reference to the action is absent because it is made obvious by the situation and a child swinging on a jungle gym may just say *Look at me*.

For the deaf child reference to an action is more difficult than reference to a thing. In calling attention to himself when doing something he will therefore usually only try to get attention by making a noise. The elaboration of competitive behavior such as we see among hearing children is again made difficult by the difficulty of calling attention to the magnitude of the accomplishment. Hearing children can say: "*Look how far I'm jumping*" or "*I'm going higher than E*" (on the swing). While the deaf child might be able to make gestures that would cover, to some extent, the meanings of these sentences, to do so would mean interrupting the game and probably losing the mood of the moment. Actually, in these play situations the deaf children generally restrict themselves to simple attention-getting calls and gestures without attempting explicit comment.

Following is a longer scene which is characterized by behavior of this kind repeated over and over again in a group of deaf children.

The children are drawing at the table.

1. D (5:5) pounds A (4:11) and points to his lines, tracing them with his finger.
2. Touches A for attention. She does not turn. D exchanges his red crayon for green. Motions to the assistant teacher (AT).

3. D continues work with green. Touches A's arm. She looks at his paper for her. He says, "Ayayay" looking toward AT. She doesn't turn. D touches her arm.

4. D points out his radial lines to A. Draws more with green. Touches the end of A's crayon with his. Marks her sleeve. A tells AT. D goes on drawing.

5. AT notices D's drawing. He touches A. A looks for a moment. D continues drawing. A looks again. D traces his lines. A waves her hand. (A downward motion, contempt.) A looks away. D draws more radials.

6. D holds drawing up to T. He reaches across A to put crayons in box. A touches D's drawing with her hand, makes a downward gesture (disdain). AT takes D's drawing and gives him a fresh paper.

7. D begins new lines, blue. Draws a diagonal in yellow. A turns toward D. She smiles, taps her right shoulder with her hand. He taps his left shoulder with her left hand. (Both are bragging. D had wanted admiration. A is wholly concerned with herself.) D gives up and returns to his drawing.

8. D puts a red diagonal over yellow. Points to himself as A looks. D holds up paper. A holds up hers and each taps his own shoulder. D picks out all the orange stubs. A looks. A points to pile of stubs and to himself.

9. The pile is between them. R takes the box. A adds her red crayon to the pile, pointing to herself. D begins drawing. He taps A on the shoulder and says, "Ayayay." (Is drawing a man.)

10. He makes dots down the page. Shows A and points to buttons on his shirt under his tie. He draws a cross over the face. D and A take turns putting lines on the paper. D puts all the crayon stubs on his page and rolls them under his hand. He scribbles with each crayon in turn.

11. He leaves his seat.

d. Demands

The requests for things will be discussed later together with the other social acts which refer to property. Asking for help and guiding or instructing others as to what they should do will be treated here.

In asking for help the deaf child cannot do much more than call the attention of the other person to the situation in a general way and at the same time express his helplessness by vocalizations and expressive movements. In most cases the situation is univocal enough so that these means of communication suffice. The child may ask for assistance in doing something like finishing a puzzle, fastening a headdress or scarf, repairing a broken clay figure, or cutting out a picture. He can make his demand by wailing or crying, by pointing to the objects with which his activity is concerned, or by bringing and then showing them. When the child wants aid in regaining possessions from another child he may go to the teacher, point to the aggressor, or point to the object he wants and to himself.

The following example shows a longer and consistent effort to get help in tying an apron:

1. D (5:8) had had a tantrum and was in the hall with his face to the wall when the observer entered the room.

4. He followed the others as they went upstairs to take paper headresses to another class.

8. Returns to the class-room with the others. Gets green scarf, beads, and head-dress. Takes them to the teacher (T').

9. T helps him fasten scarf on, as an apron. D picks up clay figure from a box. It breaks.

10. He takes it to T. . . . She helps.

11. D lays the clay on top of a drum. Pounds it.

12. His apron drops off. He takes it to T. She is working and says, "Tie it on yourself." D fumbles with apron. It falls again. Joins N who is working with clay.

13. D picks up his apron again and returns to T. He stands near her. She does not notice him. He folds cloth and goes to the observation room pressing his face against the screen.

14. Returns to T, who pays no attention. He goes to L, hits him, and turns his back holding out the ends of the apron (for L to tie). L does nothing about it. D faces L again and examines a clay animal that L has been working with. L takes his animal and goes to the box (used as a table) with it. D follows. His "skirt" drops again.

15. He picks up the apron and returns to T. She does not notice. He gets the drum and throws it so as to strike L's feet. A short time later he throws it toward N.

16. D goes to the box and watches L, then takes an armful of dishes to the table.

17. He stands with his back to the room, trying to crush the dishes between his hand. He does not pound and makes no noise. Gets the cart and rides to the big doors and back on it.

18. D falls with his head on the floor facing T. She says, "Go on, quietly." He droops, then rolls along on the cart to N who is sitting at the long table. He kneels on the cart, watching, then stands with one foot on it as though it were a skate. He hits his right shoe with the palm of his hand and talks to himself. (Hitting the shoe seemed to be part of his conversation.)

19. He takes some clay and works. . . . Just then T releases AND who has been working with her. D sees that T is free and goes to her with his apron.

20. As she ties it he puts the objects on her table in order, puts the earphones on and is ready to work.

A hearing child would have said *please help me*, or *please tie that*. It probably would have been much easier for him to impress on the other persons his wish for help, first because auditory stimulation reaches a person from any part of a room, and secondly because he can refer specifically to what he wants.

A common case of inducing another person to action is that of asking for a thing. When a deaf child asks a teacher to hand him crayons from a high shelf, he can express himself in different ways. If the situation makes the demand obvious, for instance, when the teacher the moment before had given crayons to other children, simple squealing and looking at the teacher may suffice; if the situation is not univocal, the child will point to the object or the place where it is kept, or make a gesture for drawing.

Next will be considered guiding others, commanding or "bossing." In the case of simple guiding one child tells another or a group of children what to do and the "followers" accept the dominance of the leader.

The case when only one child is the follower will be discussed first. Among hearing children one frequently finds commands of the form "Do that" or "You have to."

Put some coal in there.

Put your hand like that.

You have to go down there.

Equivalent behavior is frequently found with deaf children. When one child is engaged in one action, for instance building with blocks, another can easily steer this action by pointing, by pantomime, or by gesturing movements which indicate the direction of the action. They can also use gesture commands:

D (6:2) is in the boat. BO (5:4) brings a box and lays it on the engine, very tentatively (asking permission by his expression). D nods and points to the place below the box and makes a gesture. (He seems to say, "Put it there, not here. This is the crank.") BO goes on and leaves the box in the very place where D has told him it must not go. D points (strong protest). He gestures. BO looks. D helps him place the box where he has said that it may go.

D (6:1) wants to build a boat. He goes to the teacher (T), says, "Boat, boat," and points to the blocks and to the empty space in the back of the room. She says, "Go and tell the others." D runs, gestures steering, cranking, etc., to the others, and says to them "Boat, boat," smiling and moving quickly. He is elated. They all begin to move blocks. The group dissolves soon afterwards.

In this case the child succeeded in initiating an activity in a group of children but we do not know whether they understood him. Some may never have been in a motor boat and the gestures and the single word were meaningless to them. If the leader had been able to communicate his ideas to the others more fully in words the induction of the common goal would have been much more easy.

Sometimes one can observe cases where one child is leader in the activities of a group of children. This is, of course, only possible when the leader is able to create the same field and induce the same goals in all the participants. Only a few observations of playground behavior were made but it can be assumed that in games of running or catching where the whole field of the activity is determined much more by the concrete space, the young deaf leader can more easily induce goals in a group than in indoor play. In many of the cases in our observations in which a group plays under the leadership of one child the play involved components which went beyond the immediate concrete situation. The rôle of pantomime in

the imaginary play of the child has been discussed (*Cf. p. 19*). The compactness of the group depends on the extent to which the leader can communicate the common goal or situation. One often has the feeling that the looseness of the groups and the fact that they often dissolved after a short time derived from the difficulty of communication and the difficulty of making a make-believe situation impressive enough to the other children.

Following are examples of such cases of leadership:

In games of the "theater" or "church" type, that is where the leader performs in front of an audience, the attention of a group was usually held for a relatively longer time. The observations given below, made of one group within a period of two weeks, are of this kind:

Members of the group: M (6:7), J (6:5), R (6:3), K (6:2), D (6:1), BU (5:5), BO (5:3). The teacher, T, is occasionally approached by the children.

1. D is building a church in the corner. (He had told T what it was by pantomime and by trying to pronounce "church.")
2. D joins the others who are working on a bus under J's leadership.
3. D explains to T that the children are going to church in a bus (by trying to pronounce "church" and "bus" and gestures). (D goes to work with T.)
8. D is released and calls R. Replaces seats in the bus. . . .
15. The whole group run to the church. Sit down. D and R give orders. All kneel on chairs and "pray" with their hands folded.
16. D claps his hand, orders prayers. R comes up and gives each a drink.
17. The group wave clenched fists. (Beating time to music?) D still praying.
18. D humming, beating time. R leads the congregation away.
19. They sit on the floor in a row, legs outstretched. (M, D, J, and K.) R stands in front, goes to the house, fumbles with his bunch of keys.
20. R sits on the floor in front of them. They start "talking." R puts his fingers to his lips (silence).
21. J lies down, giggles, R tells all to lie down. They sit up again.
22. They clap hands. R approves. R uses the key on the toy stove which is on the house. They lie down. M sits up, then the others. D goes to the stove.
23. They look. R has them lie down again. M raises her head. D pushes her down again. He sits up and makes the others conform, then lies down himself with his arms folded and his eyes closed.
24. The others see D and fold their arms. All sit up. J claps her hands. They stand. R gestures, "Sit down." Gets keys. Holds out hand. Gestures that all must lie down.
25. R leans over and touches M. She gets up. The others follow. M attacks R (puppy play on the floor).
26. R wants flash light. Makes gesture to ask T. He runs about looking for it, gets the others to lie down as he passes. T gives him a cardboard tube.
27. R touches each child on the feet. All sit up.
28. D orders the row of children to move to the door. D wants some of the tinker toys with which R is working.
29. M, D, J, and K sit against the door. R is making a wheel at a distance in front of the row. One child goes to T. The others follow.

30. R looks at his audience but doesn't protest at their leaving.

34. J, D, and M are again at their places in the row. R gets K and drags her into place with the others.

35. J runs to T, D watches R intently.

37. . . .

38. All three close their eyes. R moves his wheel, sliding it along the floor. The children open their eyes. Pretend surprise. R makes a sign for light, as though to explain his building.

39. R starts more building. D has the others close their eyes. He goes to them, makes K lie on the floor. Puts his hand over K's eyes.

40. BO is released from work. He sits with the others. R pulls him over to the rug on which he is working. Puts his wheel on the rug. Group gradually breaking up.

1. D gets J, K, M, and BO to sit in a row of chairs. (He has arranged the chairs earlier and dressed himself with green and yellow scarfs.) He dances before them.

2. D takes off his scarfs and starts another costume. The others watch. J gestures advice.

3. They laugh as D puts on the yellow scarf.

4. J and M play with hands. K goes to D, returns to her seat.

5. Group looser.

1. R is working on his "theater." The other children are sitting in front, probably as he has placed them, in a row of chairs. R rearranges the chairs.

2. R rearranges the chairs.

3. He goes along the row, folding the hands of the children and turning their heads. He finds a little green ball in BU's hands. BU runs. R pursues, takes the ball and puts it on the theater structure.

4. R sits beside BU. Fondles him. R goes to M at the other end . . . brings his face down to the top of her head.

5. . . . R climbs back up to his "pulpit." BO stands up. R gestures peremptorily that he must sit down again.

6. M bounces in her chair. BO on his knees examining something in the theater.

7. D claims J's seat. Puts her out of it. R is up in the pulpit again. M points out to R that J and D are having trouble. R "scolds" (much mouthing, gestures, shaking finger, etc.) from his place. J points to D. (It is his fault.)

8. M starts to climb up to the pulpit.

9. BU comes for R. R delays, arranging chairs of his audience in a better row, warning children to wait (by gestures). Puts J peremptorily into row beside D. Goes to T.

10. R protests to T and argues before he will work.

11. D alone remains in his seat. The others leave one by one.

12. M opens the door of R's stage and exposes the toys which are there.

13. R is released, pushes D aside and examines the cupboard. M and D sit in the chairs.

The theater play does not continue.

The first of these three examples is one in which it is assumed that all the children really participate in the situation since they had all had the

experience of going to church in a bus a short time before. But we see that the play changes and the situation becomes one of audience and performer without such definite content. Finally the group breaks up.

e. Questions

In an earlier part of the paper it has been shown how the meaning of the general question gesture or expression of uncertainty is amplified by the context of the situation. At this point the rôle of questions in the social intercourse of the children will be considered. A distinction has been made between presentation and demands, or calling-of-attention-to and inducement to action. All social acts which are meant to provoke presentations or demands from the other person may be called questions.

One of the most common type of question refers to relations of possession and is equivalent to the hearing child's "May I have that?" These cases are of importance because we can see from them how much consideration of other persons these children show. They throw light on the question in what way other persons are part of their life space. Does the sphere of influence of other persons exist for these children, do they respect it and behave accordingly?⁹

For instance, if a child A could easily take a box of crayons which lies in front of another child B but asks for it, recognition of the other person's right is apparent. A asks for permission to take the object, in other words, he induces B to tell him what his attitude would be if he should take the object. This making sure of the other person's attitude in advance, before the action of interference with the other person, is one of the most significant social acts which language makes possible. Many conflicts can be averted if the equilibrium between opposing interests can be established in the sphere of possibilities and not in actual fight.

It often happens that a child simply takes the object which is in possession of another child. In these cases the observer has no means of

⁹ Cf. DeLaguna:

"Suppose, for example, that one wants to get possession of a desired object but fears the resentment of another member of the group. If the case is very simple and the animal's intelligence is low, either the attempt is made regardless of the other's presence, or the impulse is inhibited. But if the animal is more intelligent, he will act so as to get the desired object *without rousing the resentment* of the other. He may employ stealth and go about his task with a wary eye on the other's movements; or he may perhaps try in some way to placate the other in advance, or to distract his attention. We may say of such a case, that the end is unaffected, and that it is the means of attaining it which are modified by the presence and the attitude of the other; or we may say that the end is double—to get the desired object *and* to avoid the resentment of the other. But however we describe it, it is evident that a high degree of cognition is involved. The other member is apprehended as an object having distinctive and recognizable attitudes and modes of action *toward other objects*, and not simply toward oneself. So also the other objects lost their simple subjective character as objects-for-oneself, and become in a sense objects-for-others." (6, p. 210.)

ascertaining whether and how far the child that takes the object is aware of the other child. It may be that the other child does not exist at all for him; or it may be that the other child and the fact that he possesses the object are fully realized and that the act is definitely directed against him.

However, besides these cases, the material of this study contains very clear cases of asking for permission from which we can see that this is quite natural for these children.

One child may touch an object which is in possession of another child and look at him with a questioning expression.

In the following case the question is "May I play with you with these toys?"

When the class is released the children run to the blocks in the back of the room, breathing heavily and making little noises (tension) as each begins his own little pile. BU (5:5) speaks to K (6:2) who has already taken several blocks. BU points to her pile and to himself. K nods yes. BU then gets blocks and adds them to K's pile.

We add a few more examples of asking:

R (6:3) and K are building a house. R wants one of the blocks that K is about to add to the left side of the house. He "asks" K. She agrees. He takes one. Then he goes to take a couple more. She begins to squeal, protesting. He waits until she looks at him, then asks her for them. She agrees readily.

R made a pile of blocks and K another. R goes to K with his hand outstretched and one finger up (he is asking for one block). K storms. R retreats.

BO (5:3) goes to the blocks near K. K shakes her head negatively as BO stands there. BO gestures, indicating the outline of a building. K nods and begins getting out blocks.

We include here a few cases in which the behavior is more complicated and goes beyond a question for permission. The child who wants something may apply more subtle means to induce the other child to give him the object. One of these means is offering a substitute.

N (4:4) has a swan. L (4:2) wants it and squeals. He gives N a toy soldier and takes the swan. N submits.

One of the most intelligent cases of inducing another child to give up property is the following:

R (6:3) takes a block from K (6:2). She cried out and started to make trouble. R stands behind her, puts his arms around her neck, and starts to tickle her. Then he hugs her. R points out to K the place in his building where he must have one block to close the roof of his tunnel. K nods "Yes." R takes a block. K offers him a couple more and carries them to his building herself. (The transition from battle to affection seemed very clever. One felt that had R begun by hugging K she would have resented it, on the other hand had he not gone on to this step she would not have capitulated so completely. It seemed exactly right to begin with tickling which was half attack and proceed from it to soothing her.)

Sometimes the questions refers to an action, meaning "May I do that?"

D (6:1) has made a "boat" out of boxes, etc. He sits on one box at the end of his boat. Bo comes up with another box, lays it on the pile of blocks which is supposed to be the engine of the boat (one can conclude that from the cranking movements of D). Bo lays the box down very tentatively, asking permission by his expression.

In this case reference to the action is achieved by "tentative action."

We can conclude from these cases of asking for permission that the other person is present in their life spaces in a quite articulate way, involving spheres of influence and of possession.

f. Reactive presentations and demands

Under this heading the protests against taking away, guiding, interference, criticism, etc., will be discussed.

The typical reaction of the child from whom an object is taken is protest. This protest can assume different forms. It can occur on the level of primary behavior: attacking, pursuing the taker, pushing away, trying to snatch back the object, etc. It may express itself in angry vocalizations, stamping the foot, or a sort of "scolding" of the taker in which vocalizations, gestures and facial expression are combined. The highest form of symbolic expression which protest can assume is presentation of the fact that "*that is mine*," by pointing. The fact that this gesture is used and understood by the children again implies a realization of spheres of possession of one's own property and that of other people. This realization must be on what is almost a symbolic level. The behavior is not restricted to acting; it is possible to communicate the fact of possession of a thing without direct action.

In other cases, where the resistance is one against interference (but not with property) or against criticism the deaf child has only resort to primary behavior or to the less specific *no* gesture.

A few examples of protest from hearing children follow. The main difference between hearing and deaf children in this respect is that hearing children can be much more explicit in giving their reason for the protest. They can present to the other child their "ideas about the environment," that is, the structure of their life spaces which is the basis for the protest.

K (4:11) and S (4:1) are playing with some toys. They go away for a moment, leaving the boys. D (2:11) goes to their toys and pushes a truck. E (4:0), too, is coming to that part of the room. K and S return. K protests, hits D, then says to E, "Hey, you . . ." He blusters. To S, "Hey, what's the matter with her?" E comes nearer and says, "Don't be so mad." K, "She wants . . ." We boys were playing by ourselves . . .," blusters.

It is interesting to note how in this case the protest changes from stronger into milder forms. K protests first by direct action (hitting), then by verbal attack (Hey you), then in attacking directly by disapprovingly talking about the interfering child (Hey, what's the matter with her?), in the end by presenting a reason for the protest (We boys were playing by ourselves). A deaf child would be unable to perform the last two, more subtle acts of protest. The remark "Don't be so mad" could also not be made in the primitive gesture language of the deaf child. It is half protest and defense, half conciliation. It is a remark "from above." The child steps out of the group and puts herself in the place of a superior person. By means of language she leaves the field of the fight situation, without moving physically. The deaf child could soothe the other child, could run away, or fail to react at all, but he could not do anything as subtle as this.

Another example of giving the reason for a protest is the following:

C (5:0) takes a block from the sand box. K (4:11), "Hey, don't do that. That's supposed to be the ocean."

An example of resistance against an approach:

E (4:0) made her appearance on the playground after an absence. She goes straight to K (4:11), inviting him to join her. K looks up coldly and answers, "I'm sorry, but I've been here more than you. I looked for you, but you didn't come." Then to another child, "I've got a spoon like that."

E was now very near to him. (She had probably spoken the name of some other child, although the observer did not hear her.)

K: "She's in the play house. Go and look." E went on.

The implications of these remarks become clear if one knows the history of the situation. E was the most aggressive and dominating child in the group. During the first days she controlled the others and they seemed to accept it without resentment. She was the first to seem entirely at home in the new situation and the first to call the adults by their proper names. The others were strange and the situation was unstructured for them. They gave up to her leadership easily and were perhaps even glad to have her to depend on. However her dominance rested much more on social aggressiveness than upon originality in play, or on charm. She was absent for a week or two and this was her first appearance after the absence. The situation is now perfectly structured and stable for K and it is not unnatural that he is glad to throw off her control and resists her approach.

This analysis shows that the limitations of communication of the deaf child restrict his social relations. While he is able to use most of the basic forms needed for social intercourse nevertheless the fact that he is so largely limited to concrete aspects of the present situation means that he is often unable to make specific meanings clear and that he is less able than a

hearing child to anticipate the next step in a situation. Therefore he probably comes into conflict with his fellows more often than the hearing child of comparable temperament. He is less able to get help from others in carrying out his plans and must work more as an individual in activities that go beyond the simplest manipulations or play with apparatus. Groups form less easily except on the basis of diffuse rapport, and are less stable than among hearing children.¹⁰ Group organization is hindered, on the one hand by the difficulty of building up stable competitive situations without means of expressing achievement in quantitative terms, on the other hand by the difficulty of setting common goals for a group when reference to the imaginary situations and the future is limited. Another important fact that restricts social coordination in a group of deaf children is the fundamental mechanical difficulty of communication. The deaf child must, in most cases, interrupt his activity and present himself directly to the other person or persons if he is to say something about it. The hearing child can remain within the situation about which he wishes to make a communication.

For an understanding of the general psychological development of the deaf child it is important that he often experiences the restrictions imposed by his limited means of communication as frustrations or failure. When he initiates a group play and finds that the other children are really doing something quite different from what he had supposed when he induced them to perform certain actions; when he persistently tries to make the adult in charge of the group aware of a certain need, or when he fails to make the other children understand why he and not they should use a certain pile of blocks, in all these cases he meets situations in which there is a definite hampering of his course of action. All of these situations occur often in the life of the average hearing child; nevertheless it is clear that they must happen much more frequently to the deaf child, at least during the years before he reaches a full mastery of language, and that they must be taken into account in any study of his adjustment.

¹⁰ Because of the absence of entirely comparable situations it is impossible to express these conclusions in quantitative terms on the basis of our present data. They should be verified by records taken from controlled experimental situations, but the analyses of the material which we have so far collected makes it seem valid to suggest these differences.

VI. SUMMARY

A STUDY was made of the means of communication and social intercourse of young deaf children who had not yet acquired conventional language symbols. The material consisted of fifty-three observations of deaf, twenty-two of hearing children made in free play situations. The average length of observation was twenty-seven minutes. Further data were obtained from a series of short motion picture studies of pairs of young deaf children who were left alone in a room and did not know that pictures were being made.

The principal means of communication used by the deaf children were: (1) a few spoken words; (2) pictorial gestures; (3) imitation of actions; (4) pointing; (5) pointing combined with movements of the hand; (6) facial expression; (7) nodding and shaking the head; (8) expressive vocalizations. Some of these served genuine symbolic functions but one may say that on the whole the communication of the young deaf child is carried on by means of pointing and expressive movements and depends for its meaning on the context of the situation to a much greater extent than does the spoken language of hearing children. In some cases the gestures were global in their meaning, that is they could not be analyzed in terms of single word components. In other cases combinations of gestures were used with genuine phrase or sentence structure. From this point of view it may be said that the deaf children had attained a stage of language development which is characteristic of hearing children of two or two and one-half years.

An analysis in terms of the three language functions distinguished by Buehler and others (expression, evocation, and representation) shows that the deaf children had clearly passed beyond the stages at which only evocative and expressive forms are used and made use of representation, although to a limited degree.

In regard to *the content of communication* of the young deaf child it was shown that he can easily communicate meanings that belong concretely to the immediate situation. He is handicapped in dealing with aspects of the situation, *i.e.*, with qualities of objects or with abstract relationships, and with meanings that refer to objects or situations beyond what is immediately perceived. These limitations of communication are discussed in

regard to the following cases in which the content goes beyond the immediate perceptual situation.

a. Imaginary play: A certain amount of imaginary play goes on in groups of deaf children, but it is more or less restricted to the level of action, *i.e.*, to pantomime. The fact that more or less elaborate pantomime is needed to communicate a rôle whereas a single word often serves for the hearing child greatly restricts the kind and amount of imaginary play of the deaf. Their groups are often less stable than those of hearing children since the pantomime often fails to draw others fully into the situation.

b. Past and future: Deaf children can refer to the past when there are concrete traces which can be used for reference, but they usually cannot give an event a specific time index. Reference to the future is used still less since there are few marks that point to an event which has not yet occurred. It is to some extent indicated when one child threatens to take something from another and in cases of asking for something. But the deaf child is especially limited in means of announcing what he is about to do, a use of reference to the future which is frequent among hearing children. In future as in past the deaf child can usually give no specific time index to what he tries to communicate.

c. Reference to absent objects: The number of descriptive or symbolic gestures which are used by the deaf child to carry univocal meaning apart from the objective situation is limited. Hence it is difficult for him to talk about an object which is not present. Similarly he is limited in his means of indicating the location of an absent object, since he cannot indicate a place beyond the immediate situation without using a symbol.

d. Necessity and possibility: Necessity can hardly be expressed in any way by the deaf child. Possibility, which is used by the hearing child to indicate what he is able to do, can be implied by the deaf child, though in a far less specific way, by a kind of general bragging with reference to himself.

e. Evaluating statements: The chief difference between deaf and hearing in the use of evaluation is the degree of specificity with which remarks can be made. The deaf child can express approval and disapproval and can claim credit in general terms for having made something or for being the possessor of something. But he cannot distinguish between personal and impersonal expressions of approval, nor indicate in specific terms the aspects of the situation to which he is referring. Another difference between deaf and hearing children is that the hearing child uses expressions of quality and number to an extent that is impossible for the deaf child.

f. Reference to psychological events: Specific reference to *thinking, knowing, guessing*, and to perceptual processes like *watching, looking, or wanting* can hardly be expressed by the deaf except in global complexes in which the event itself is inextricably fused with the object involved.

A final section treats *the effects*, in social contacts of different kinds, of *these limitations in communication*. It is shown that while the deaf child can carry out, in their basic form, many of the kinds of social behavior, nevertheless he is limited in certain respects that are important for the coordination and stability of social groups. Following are the single kinds of social approach that occurred among the deaf children in this study considered from the point of view of the behavior possibilities of deaf and of hearing children:

a. The establishment of diffuse rapport: A kind of "babbling together," which lacks any specific content is found among groups of deaf children. This is probably similar to what Malinowski has called "phatic communion" and is probably not essentially different for deaf and hearing children of early ages.

b. Simple presentation: Under this heading are described acts of *showing or telling* whose function is only to make another person aware of a thing or situation. This is a form of behavior which occurs frequently among both deaf and hearing children. The deaf children are restricted in using it only insofar as reference to absent objects, or to the less concrete aspects of situations are involved. It is relatively more difficult for a deaf child to call attention to an action than to a person or thing.

c. Ostentatious presentation: This form of communication is distinguished from simple presentation in that the child is not trying to make another person aware of an object or an act for its own sake, but to increase his own social prestige by showing his relation to it. The fact that the deaf child cannot make comparisons of size, of quantity, or quality, as the hearing child does, restricts the social effectiveness of this form of communication. In trying to call attention to an action he can generally only call attention in a general way to the person performing it.

d. Demands: These include requests for help and attempts to guide the activities of others. In cases in which a situation is univocal the deaf child can make his need for help clear with the means of communication at his disposal, but there are many cases in which he cannot express his need specifically enough to secure full cooperation from the other person. He can usually obtain aid only when he is near the person from whom he wants help, whereas the hearing child can often call for aid from a distance. He

is also limited in his ability to impose his ideas on others and guide their conduct especially when irreality is involved. For this reason group play often breaks down among deaf children.

c. Questions: Questions, especially "asking permission," are significant in showing to what extent one person is aware of other people and their rights. They are important for social adjustments in enabling a person to ascertain in advance the attitudes of other people and so to avoid conflict. The use made of questions of this sort by the deaf children showed clearly that they took others into account although not to the extent to which hearing children do so.

f. Reactive presentations and demands: Protests against taking away, guiding, interference, and criticism were treated under this head. When the interference is with property the deaf child can express the meaning "That is mine" but he is restricted in protesting against other kinds of interference or criticism. In these cases his only resort is to a less specific *no* gesture or to primary defense behavior. It is important that the hearing children can often avoid direct aggression by giving their reasons against the act of the other child. They are also able, by means of the more highly developed language at their disposal, to change their own relation toward the situation so as to make their responses seem less aggressive than those of the deaf with their less flexible means of communication.

APPENDIX

A. A moving picture study of John and Peter

John was 7:1, Peter 5:9 at the time of the observation, in the middle of their first school year. The scene of the cinematic record gives clear examples of "demand" behavior, in the first part of asking for advice and approval, in the second of steering or guiding the actions of others. The principal means of communication are pointing and facial expression. Two symbolic gestures are used, one for "Santa Claus" and one for "home."

When the scene opens the two boys are alone in a room, seated side by side at a low table with sheets of paper and drawing pencils. John is more active socially than Peter throughout, and is usually the one who makes the demand. During the first part of the period he is continually trying to get Peter to look at his drawing. During the second part he tries to get Peter to draw a Christmas tree and complete it to his satisfaction. He points to a printed picture to help explain what he wants but his repeated pointing fails to make Peter understand that a particular ornament at the top of the tree is essential to the drawing. John points over and over again to this part of the picture but Peter understands first that he is indicating the whole tree, which he thinks he has already drawn satisfactorily, then that he wants the vertical line of the trunk emphasized. John finally gives up in despair and draws the ornament himself. They are both satisfied with this solution.

The following detailed description of the moving picture affords a fairly clear picture of how communications between two small deaf children are made in such a situation. The example is an interesting one in that it shows both the way in which the situation context may give specific meanings to pointing gestures, and the way in which pointing may fail when it is used to indicate an aspect of a situation which is not, objectively, a discrete unit. Time is indicated every twenty seconds along the margin. Comments in parenthesis are the observers' interpretations of what was done and "said" from time to time.

0 John: Lip-movements to Peter.

Peter: Turns paper over and starts over again.

Both work.

20 J: Touches P's hand, shakes head, points to own paper.

P: Gesture "Home."

- Both draw. J draws long line going over edge of paper.
Erases line on table.
- J: Pounds P on shoulder. Shakes head, pointing at his own paper.
- P: Points out line on his own paper.
- J: Turns paper over.
Both draw.
- P: Looks across to J, takes pencil and makes a line on J's paper.
- 40 J: Points from line on his own paper to line on P's paper, shaking his head. ("That's not the same.")
- P: Nodding. ("Yes, yes, it's all right.")
- J: Taps with one hand his own paper with other hand P's paper.
Uncertain questioning expression.
- P: Turns J's paper so that line is in different position.
- J: Nodding, satisfied. ("Oh, that's how you mean it.")
Both look at their own papers.
- J: Reaches towards P's hand, turns P's chin. Makes a gesture for Santa Claus twice and then a gesture for drawing. ("I am drawing Santa Claus.")
- P: Slight nodding ("I see").
Both drawing. Peter looks out of window.
- 1:0 J: Turns P's chin, points at his picture and makes gesture for Santa Claus.
- P: Nodding slowly several times ("Yes, yes, I know").
Peter draws over edge of his paper, making mark on table.
- J: Takes P's hand, lifts it, shows P the mark on table, forms mouth into "O" disapprovingly and points toward door ("Oh, look what you have done. Wait until teacher sees it").
- P: Erases work, smiles with mouth movements and waving hand, quieting ("Oh, that's all right"). Starts drawing again.
- J: Pulls P's chin.
- P: Resists at the beginning, then smiles and looks at J.
- 1:20 J: Points to his own ear and makes gesture to be quiet. ("I hear somebody.")
Both draw again. Peter leans back and looks at his drawing.
- 1:40 J: Turns Peter's head, points at his own drawing and nods his head. (That's the way it should be.)
Experimenter comes in, the children show their drawing.
Experimenter leaves the room again.

- 2:00 Children draw and exchange glances from time to time.
- J: Taps Peter on the shoulder and points at his own paper.
- P: Glances for a moment at J and then starts drawing again.
Both draw.
- J: Grasps Peter's arm, points to his own paper.
- 2:20 J reaches toward his pocket and points to his forehead. ("I have an idea.") He pulls a piece of paper out of his pocket. (It is an advertisement showing a colored picture of a Christmas tree.) He points back and forth from the picture to his drawing several times. (He has drawn a Christmas tree.)
- P: Raises his hand and lets it drop to the table. ("Oh, that's what you mean.") Turns his paper over and starts drawing (a Christmas tree).
- 2:40 J: Puts the picture back into his pocket and watches Peter. He is standing behind Peter. After a few moments he shakes his head and leans down to Peter, pointing to several different parts of Peter's drawing. He lifts Peter's hand from the drawing to stop him and pulls the paper out of his pocket again. He points at the picture.
- 3:00 Both settle down to drawing again.
- P: (Obviously has finished drawing.) He lifts both hands, touches John, and leans his head on one hand looking expectantly at John. ("Is it all right now?")
- J: Looks at Peter's drawing, frowning, then points out details in the printed picture.
- P: Points out a line of his drawing, moving his mouth. ("Justifying himself.") He starts drawing again.
- J: Grasps his arm. Again points out a detail in the printed picture.
- 3:20 P: Starts drawing again.
- P: Rests his head on his hand again and shakes it. (Uncertain or discouraged.)
- J: Again shows detail of the picture and shakes his head at Peter. ("You haven't quite got it yet.")
- P: Looks, points to the printed picture, and points to his head ("I see") and points to his own paper. Starts drawing.
- J: Stops Peter again and makes him look still more closely at the printed picture.

- 3:40 P: Starts drawing again.
J: Watches Peter.
P: Looks again at the printed picture.
J: Grasps Peter by the chin and points to some detail of the printed picture.
P: Looks perfunctorily and returns to his own drawing. For a moment both draw.
J: Again grasps Peter by the chin and points out the detail of the printed picture.
P: Looks back and forth and touches his own drawing. Makes another line on his paper.
P: Looks at John for approval.
J: Reaches over and tries to draw on Peter's sheet with his own pencil.
P: Resists and draws a long vertical line on his paper.
J: Watches him and pounds the table impatiently.
4:00 P: (Seeing that J is not yet satisfied) Reaches over to the printed picture and gestures (angrily) to one line. ("Can't you see? That is what I have just done?")
J: Draws something on Peter's drawing and points it out on the printed picture. (It is the star on the top of the Christmas tree.) Nods emphatically. ("This is what I meant.")
P: Peter puts his hand to his mouth, then points to his head. ("Oh, that's what you meant." A little ashamed.) He scratches his head.

B. Francis and Rene

Francis was 6:11 and Rene 5:10. The observation was made in the middle of their second year of school. This picture shows one of the rare instances, for deaf children, of extended conversation about an absent object. As we would expect there are relatively more symbolic gestures than in the first picture which centered about the immediate situation. A more or less conventionalized gesture for *home* is used, also a pictorial gesture for *dog*, and simple imitative actions to indicate clay (for modelling) and others for actions like the opening of a door. Pointing is used to indicate directions and locations, both within the room and beyond it. Facial expression is frequently used as a means of communication.

The motif of the scene is a simple one. The two children had seen a puppy belonging to the experimenters in the same room a week before.

While they draw part of the time with the material which had been given them they are chiefly concerned to find out whether the dog is concealed somewhere in the room. Actually they probably believe the experimenter's statement that the dog is not there, but in the lively game that ensued of guessing where the dog was and challenging each other to look for it, elements of reality and imaginary play are closely combined.

- o F: Looks around, looks toward experimenter, imitates walking dog with his hands (slight movements), opens mouth (trying to say "dog") and points to mouth with one finger of right hand, then raises the hand further with his mouth open ("The dog . . . where is it?") Excited smile on his face.
- R: Had been playing with a small toy, makes question gesture about the toy. ("What is it?")
- F: Points toward a corner of the room, stands up and nods, jerks finger as he points insistently to the corner. (The Experimenter had told him that the dog was not there. He means "Yes, yes. It is over there.") Gets up and goes to the
20 corner of the room to look for the dog. (Passes out of range of the camera.)
- R: Has continued to hold up the toy with the question about it; now begins to watch Francis.
- F: As he comes within range of the camera again is making a question gesture and a sign for "home." ("Is the dog at home?")
- R: Also gestures "home."
Experimenter gives pencils to the children and leaves the room. Both children watch her go out.
- R: Turning his head toward F nods and makes a slight gesture, a
40 sweeping motion of the hand. ("Now she is gone.") Then a beckoning gesture ("Come on, let's start"). Points to his head. ("I have an idea.") Looks at his paper, pencil in hand as if about to draw. Both look around, on the floor, behind the chairs, etc. R makes question gesture and gesture describing the toy. Taps Francis' shoulder twice, points to his head (announcing, "I know what I am going to do").
- F: Puts hand to mouth (thinking how he will respond). Draws a line.
- R: Touches F lightly, rises in his chair, and leans over to watch F, settles back and begins a line of his own.

- F: Finishes his own line, leans over, and looks at R's paper, then starts drawing again.
Both draw.
- 1:00 R: Looks at F's paper, goes on drawing.
- 1:12 . . . Film is interrupted.
- 0 R: Looks up and makes a movement with mouth (jabbering).
Has his hand to his mouth, with index finger raised.
- F: Also jabbering, raises both hands (question gesture).
- R: Touches F, puts hand to mouth, makes *O* with mouth while he makes sweeping circular gesture for *home*.
- F: Sits with elbows on the table, hands indicating question.
Makes gesture for *home*, with mouth forming *O*. (Very sad—"The dog is home.")
Points to shelves, face excited, and makes gesture for handling clay.
- R: Points to closet and looks around with questioning expression.
- 20 F: Repeats pointing with a descriptive gesture for handling clay.
(They had previously played with clay in this room.)
- R: Touches F, points to closet, moves lips, and puts hands over ears. ("I hear something in the closet.")
- F: Shakes head.
- R: Nods head and points to closet. Puts index finger of right hand to ear and listens. ("I hear something.") Gesticulates and talks.
- F: Shakes head again.
- Both: Look toward door.
- R: Starts drawing.
- 40 F: Touches R. Points to corner again, with hesitating gesture.
("Perhaps the dog is there.")
- Both: Look toward door.
- R: Points to corner, slightly shaking head.
- F: Raises hand to ear.
- R: Moves hands and points out the window.
- F: Looks out window, points to corner with hand to ear (pretends to hear), face animated, and gestures dog movements with his two hands.
- 1:00 Points to ear again, to corner, with expression of surprise and attention on face. Points to R.

- R: Starts drawing.
- F: Touches R for attention, makes clownish movements, bends over his paper with exaggerated attention (clowning) and starts drawing.
- R Taps F's arm to get attention and when F does not look up pounds his elbow, finally hits him in the face.
- F: Raises his arm in defense and goes on drawing.
- 1:20 Both: Draw.
- R: Pounds the table with both hands.
- F: Makes lighter movements like R's and turns paper. (Clowning.)
- R: Stands up and starts an exaggerated tip-toeing.
- F: Touches him amused, and gestures that he should sit down again.
- R: Sits down again for a moment, points to the corner, and to his head. ("I know what I want to do.") Starts tip-toeing again. R goes to the corner, out of range of the camera where he opens the large wooden box.
- F: Follows him with his eyes, tense with excitement.
- 1:40 F: Makes a slight gesture of disappointment. Opens hand and shakes head. Smile disappears for a moment. ("Nothing there.") Becomes excited again and raises arms with fists clenched. Shows teeth.
- R: Returns. The two turn towards the slate behind them.
- 2:00 R: Points to ceiling.
- Both: Turn back to the tables and start drawing again.
- 2:14 . . . Film is interrupted.
- o F: Stands, points to Rene, and gestures. (Probably, "You open the closet door." Points again to the door and to Rene, and again makes gesture for opening.
- R: Clowning. Makes gesture for opening with delicate hand movements. (Imitation of putting the key into the lock and turning it.) Points to F. ("You do it.")
- F: Points to R again and tries to repeat the lock and key gestures but more crudely than R.
- Both: Point to each other.
- 20 R: Sits down and starts drawing.
- F: Stands, points toward door (still urging Rene).

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II. THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE ADULT DEAF

I. INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

THE effects of deafness on a child's means of communication are direct and readily seen. Without special teaching the child who is profoundly deaf from an early age rarely learns to understand the speech of other people and never to speak intelligibly. If he is given special instruction he can learn to understand speech by means of lip-reading and to speak so that he can at least get along easily with the people whom he sees often. Many deaf people come to understand strangers and to make themselves understood by people who are unfamiliar with the speech of the deaf, but no deaf person has the facility in conversation that every hearing person takes for granted. Even the lip-reader who is completely at ease in talking with a single person often loses the thread when the conversation is passed from one person to another in a group. And no one, of course, can read the lips unless the light is adequate and properly directed.

Educationally this means that the deaf child is delayed in learning to talk and that he is retarded in his whole language development. He begins much later than the hearing child to get information from the people about him and from books, and his school progress is necessarily slower. This retardation has been extensively studied. Equally important, but less well understood, are the effects of deafness on the personality and social development of the individual. Some educators have written about the "special characteristics" of the deaf, but this has been largely the expression of personal opinion and we find little agreement between different writers as to what the effects of deafness on personality are. Welles (35) and Brunswick (9) give detailed summaries of these divergent points of view.

More recently systematic studies of these problems have appeared. They are of two types, studies based on experiment and observation, and statistical studies in which formal questionnaires, rating scales, and the like are used. Two comprehensive studies of the observational type have been made. The first of these, by Naffin (24), was concerned directly with the social behavior of deaf school children. The author concluded that the language retardation of the deaf child results in a retardation in the formation of social groups during the pre-adolescent years, but that after that there are no fundamental differences between the deaf and hearing in social development. He gave special attention to the stability of social groups and to

factors determining leadership within these groups. He reported that the deaf showed no feelings of inferiority in their adjustment to their own family groups and in team play with hearing children, although even those who lived outside the school preferred to play with their deaf schoolmates rather than with hearing children.

Pellet (25) whose principal concern was with the thought development of the deaf also gave considerable attention to the social consequences of deafness. He comes to a different conclusion from that reached by Naffin. He believes that the deaf person reacts to his own handicap by showing increased aggressiveness and competitiveness in his relations with other people, and that in groups of the deaf leadership depends more on ability to force a certain kind of admiration from the group than upon ability to organize and direct its activities. Although the deaf group themselves in organizations, these are usually formed to gain security from their feeling of isolation, and show a less unified spirit and less cooperative action than groups of hearing persons.

Pellet also feels that the language handicap of the deaf results in emotional immaturity. His argument is that most of the words that we use to express religious feeling, aesthetic judgments, and other emotional responses in general, belong to the category of the more abstract terms which the deaf person has special difficulty in mastering and that without the word the feeling itself does not develop fully. Pellet emphasizes the fact that the effects of deafness on personal development have nothing to do with the deprivation of sound in itself, but are rather the natural result of the restricted environment and limited language experience which deafness involves.

The statistical studies of the effects of deafness on personality have been made largely in answer to the specific question whether the deaf, as a group, are more or less neurotic than hearing. The tools used in these studies are not yet developed sufficiently to show what the possibilities of adjustment are with the deaf but the studies themselves are important as attempts to make use of more exact and controlled methods in studying basic problems. Of the studies that have been made the most valuable were done at Teachers College under the direction of Rudolph Pintner, who was the first to do extensive work in this field.

Some of these statistical studies have been made with deaf, some with hard of hearing groups. Although somewhat different results are to be expected from studies of these two groups, nevertheless similar techniques have been employed and one can probably obtain the best survey of the field by considering the different results that have been obtained with each of the measuring instruments that has been used with either group.

The most extensive use has been made of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, in studies made by Pintner or under his direction. The first of these, by Welles (35), compared responses from 225 hard of hearing persons with those from a group of 148 hearing persons. Welles made contacts with his hard of hearing subjects through leagues for the hard of hearing in New York City and his subjects, in turn, selected as their own controls persons who were approximately equal to them in age, intelligence, education, and economic status. Welles' general conclusions were that the hard of hearing were distinctly more emotional, more introverted, and less dominant than their hearing friends. Welles considered the possibility that the questionnaire, which was designed for use with normal subjects, might include questions that would discriminate against the deaf. He tries to meet this difficulty by eliminating from his final scoring all the questions that the majority of a committee composed of three psychologists and six hard of hearing persons felt "could be answered in just one way because of the sensory defect itself regardless of the psychological significance."

This study was followed by one made by Pintner himself (28) using the same test with 94 isolated hard of hearing people and controls from all parts of the United States and Canada. He found again that the deaf showed more neurotic tendencies than the controls, also that the rural deaf are less well-adjusted than those from urban groups. He went beyond Welles in supplementing the Inventory with questions of his own to find out more about the individual's own reactions to his deafness. From the answers to these questions Pintner classified his cases as "well-adjusted," "reconciled," and "maladjusted," and found marked differences between the inventory scores of the "maladjusted" and of the other two groups.

In another study made by Pintner, Fusfeld, and Brunschwig (30) the Bernreuter Personality Inventory was altered in an effort to make it more suitable for use with the deaf. Two principal changes were made. The wording of the questions was simplified so as to take into account the language limitations of the deaf, and the questions involving social situations were subdivided into two parts to allow the subject to report his behavior with deaf and hearing persons separately. This test was given to 126 deaf adults. The results were similar to those reported by Welles and by Pintner with the original form of the Bernreuter Inventory. The deaf showed greater instability, greater introversion, and less dominance than the average of normal subjects. The data were analyzed further in relation to information obtained from a personal data sheet filled out by the same subjects.

It was found that those who became deaf late showed better adjustment than those who were deaf from birth or infancy; also that better scores

were made by those who communicated with hearing persons by speech and lip-reading than by those who depended on writing; better scores by those who reported that they found it easy to make friends with hearing people. At the same time the authors point out that the degree of maladjustment is slight in proportion to the severity of the sensory handicap, that on the whole the deaf reach almost the same levels of adjustment as normal individuals, and that they are not separated from them by a sharp difference in personality make-up.

In two studies the Rogers Test of Personality Adjustment has been used. The first of these was made by Brunschwig, under the direction of Pintner (9) and shows a marked advance over many of the studies in that it makes a definite attempt to evaluate adjustment in terms of the social environment which deafness involves. Brunschwig began work by using the Rogers Test of Personality Adjustment with 159 pupils of a public residential school for the deaf and 243 hearing children from public day schools, studying the responses for 42 matched pairs in special detail. The results of the tests were compared with teachers' ratings of the same children on the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Scale. This test did not show a close relationship with teachers' ratings, nor did it show a significant difference between deaf and hearing children. Brunschwig then analyzed the points which she felt might account for the failure of the Rogers' Test to differentiate between the deaf and hearing children and constructed a test of her own designed to meet the shortcomings of the Rogers' Test. According to her scoring, which she based on that of the Rogers' Test, the results indicated that the deaf were somewhat less well-adjusted than the hearing.

Gregory (13) used the Rogers' Test of Personality Adjustment with deaf and hearing children living in institutions. She compared the results obtained from this test with data from the Minnesota Interest Blank and the Woodworth-Cady Test of Emotional Stability. The deaf children were pupils of the Minnesota School for the deaf, the hearing of a school for dependent children. The results indicated that the deaf show less adequate social adjustment than the hearing. The author's discussion of the data in terms of single responses adds to the value of the study but on the whole one knows too little of the actual living conditions of the two groups to know what the comparisons mean.

Springer (32) used the Brown Personality Inventory with 400 deaf children from public day schools and residential schools of New York City and 327 hearing children from public schools. The Goodenough Drawing Test was used as a measure of intelligence and the Barr scale of occupa-

tional status as means of equating the two groups. The deaf made scores indicating a higher tendency to neurotic behavior than the hearing. This material was treated further by Springer and Roslow (33) who compared the psycho-neurotic scores for a smaller group of 59 deaf boys and girls paired with hearing children for age, sex, intelligence, general social status, and nationality of parents. The mean neurotic score of the deaf was again larger than that of the hearing. This remained true, even when the author followed the method used by Welles of having a group of judges rule out the questions which they felt could be "answered in just one way on account of the sensory defect itself."

Another study made under the direction of Pintner is that by Habbe (15) who used the Symonds Adjustment Questionnaire to compare 48 hard of hearing boys attending an ordinary public school with 48 hearing boys from the same school. He supplemented this material with other data obtained from the Pintner Personality Outline and from an autobiographical form. The ten hard-of-hearing boys showing the best scores and the ten showing the worst scores on the several measures of personality were then studied by means of interviews. The results showed few differences between the hard of hearing and the hearing but the question must be raised whether this group of hard of hearing boys is one where the psychological effects of deafness would be expected to be present. According to the data from the interviews and autobiographical form some of the boys, at least, had been entirely unaware of their hearing defects until they were shown up by routine audiometer tests and seemed still to be making plans for the future that were quite unaffected by the results of these tests (*Cf.* 15, pp. 50-52). If, as Brunschwig says, deafness affects personality as it influences the environment in which the individual lives, an undetected hearing loss, however important its educational and medical implications, would probably have had little affect on the child's own reactions.

Lyon (19) employed the Thurstone Personality Schedule with a group of 87 pupils doing high school work in the Illinois School for the Deaf. He compared his results with those obtained from freshmen at the University of Chicago, who were of about the same age, and found that the percentage of deaf pupils classified, according to the schedule, as "emotionally mal-adjusted" and "in need of psychiatric advice" was twice as great as that of university students.

A somewhat different instrument, the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Rating Scale, was employed in two studies. This scale deals with teachers' ratings of deaf pupils rather than with the responses of the deaf themselves. It asks for direct evaluations rather than presenting questions from which

ratings can be derived. It was used by Springer (31) who compared teachers' estimates of 377 deaf and 415 hearing children in public schools of New York City. Springer used the Goodenough Drawing Test to equate his groups for intelligence and the Barr Scale to compare them for socio-economic status. He found that the families of both groups of children were below the average in social status. Both deaf and hearing children were slightly more maladjusted than children in general, but on certain items the deaf rated more favorably than the hearing. The deaf were rated by their teachers as more intelligent, more wide-awake, better able to hold attention over long periods, more active mentally, making a better impression physically, and more cheerful and sympathetic. At the same time they presented more behavior problems. These differences may have no meaning, however, since each group was rated by teachers who worked only with pupils of that group and therefore must have made their judgments largely according to standards based on experiences within that group. The fact that the teachers of the deaf usually work with much smaller groups of children whom they can know better than teachers of hearing children know their pupils may also have made a difference in the ways in which the ratings were made for the two groups.

The same rating scale was also used by Kirk (17) who compared teachers' ratings for 112 deaf and hard of hearing children with norms established by Olson. In this case there was a significant difference in favor of the hearing, but since no comparison was made with a matched group of hearing children it is impossible to say whether these results contradict those obtained by Springer who found both deaf and hearing maladjusted.

Pintner has made a comparison of adjustment of normal and hard of hearing children in public schools of Manhattan and Brooklyn with a group test known as "Pupil Portraits" (29). The test consists of 100 such statements as, "This child tells everybody what a fine school he goes to." The statement is preceded by two letters, *S* and *D*. The child taking the test is instructed to underline *S* if he feels *the same* as the child spoken of in the statement, *D* if he feels differently. Of this list 73 questions concerned school situations, 27 home situations. The test was given to 1,604 normal and 1,397 hard-of-hearing children. In treating the results the hard of hearing were first considered as a group, then those showing a loss of less than 15 decibels in the better ear and those showing a loss of greater than that were considered separately. The differences on test scores were significant only for the extreme group of hard of hearing, and then were not great. Pintner concludes from his comparisons that the hard of hearing child makes a normal adjustment in most cases as far as this test shows.

The question may be raised whether a statement such as the one quoted is not to some extent an ambiguous one. It may not always be clear what the child's answer means. He may mean that he does not feel that his school is a fine one, or he may mean that he does not go about telling people how he feels about it. And the question of whether he tells how he feels on any subject is something that may be directly affected by a hearing loss quite regardless of school adjustment. Also, the fact that the difference between boys and girls was greater in each case than the difference between the normal and the hard of hearing again suggests that the test may not be one that measures "adjustment" in its basic sense at all. While boys may be more aggressively negative than girls in some situations, there is no evidence that they are less well-adjusted from the point of view of personality development.

On the whole all of these methods of evaluating personality measure adjustment by the amount of social intercourse. They are devised for use with hearing persons, for whom one can assume that there are no mechanical hindrances to communication. The fact that it is just ease of social intercourse that is limited by deafness means that the measuring instrument is influenced by what is to be measured. This is true to some extent of most of the questions and it is especially so of some of those on which the general conclusions as to differences between deaf and hearing in adjustment are based. Not all of the writers give their results in terms of single questions but the analyses of those who do, suggest serious difficulties in the whole procedure. Welles, for example, in spite of the fact that he tried to rule out questions that are directly influenced by the deafness itself, based his conclusions that the deaf were maladjusted on such questions as the following:

"Do you find conversation more helpful in formulating your ideas than reading? At a reception or a tea do you feel reluctant to meet the most important person present? Do you see more fun or humor in things when you are in a group or alone? Do you often feel lonesome when you are with other people?"

All of Welles' subjects were people belonging to leagues for the hard of hearing, therefore people who had probably once had normal hearing and who had suffered losses sufficient to make them want to study lip reading and find friends among others who were also handicapped in understanding normal speech. For a person who is not sure that he will understand what is said to him to admit that he hesitates to meet the guest of honor at a tea, or that he feels lonely in a group certainly need not indicate an emotional feeling of insecurity or withdrawal; it may only indicate an objective sense of expediency. If a profoundly deaf person tried to use a

telephone, we would say, in spite of the fact that 99% of the hearing population probably do so, that he was either stupid or showing marked maladjustment in failing to recognize his physical limitations. Many of the social situations suggested by these questions differ from that of using the telephone only in being partly, rather than wholly limited by the physical handicap. Yet the personality tests in common use take such responses to mean that an individual is introverted and withdrawn. It is on the basis of such responses that the hard of hearing group studied by Welles is described as less well-adjusted than a corresponding group of hearing persons. Pintner, Fusfeld, and Brunschwig (30) met this objective to some extent by asking their subjects to answer some of the questions separately for situations involving deaf and for situations involving hearing persons.

Another weakness of the instruments that are now available is that they necessarily fail to take into account other aspects of behavior than those that they are especially designed to measure. Welles, Brunschwig, and Habbe agree that the difference between the deaf and the hearing is one of degree only and emphasize "the lack of uniqueness" in the psychology of the hard of hearing. But certainly little else could have been found with the instruments used for comparison. A single questionnaire cannot, obviously, measure every possible direction of deviation from normal adjustment. Rather it selects a limited number that have been found, after less restricted surveys of personality problems, to be indicative of adjustment or maladjustment in a given group. Before any such quantitative measures, designed as these were for an average hearing population, can be offered for use with the deaf it will be necessary to make broader analyses of the whole life situation of the deaf person to find out what his psychological environment is, to define his life in terms of what he can and cannot do, to find out at what points the restrictions imposed by his deafness become psychologically important, and what the "normal" and expedient ways of adjusting to his situation are. Adjustment has no meaning in itself. It is always adjustment to a concrete situation. Just as a doctor cannot say whether a given pulse rate is "normal" until he knows whether his patient has been sitting quietly or running to meet an appointment, so we cannot say what is normal for the deaf person until we know what tensions and problems his situation involves.

Objections may also be brought against responses of another kind which Brunschwig, following the general scoring of the Rogers' Test and others, took to be indicative of maladjustment for the group of deaf school children that she studied. She found, for example, that deaf children liked their schools and teachers more than hearing children, were more often doubtful

of their parents' affection, more often afraid of their brothers and sisters and of other children, were more often fought by other children; they liked to be alone more than hearing children. Here again we have differences that are certainly closely related to the objective situation in which the deaf child finds himself. The deaf children were pupils in a residential school, therefore in closer relationship with their teachers than the hearing children who attended day school, and much more separated from their own parents. However happy the deaf child may be in his school life, he often fails to understand fully why he has been singled out from other members of his family to be sent away from home. If he wishes that his parents loved him more, the wish often has very different meaning from the same wish coming from a child whose relation to his home has been undisturbed. The deaf child who says that he is afraid of other children may only be stating the fact that hearing children often tease and take advantage of the individual in their midst who is different from others. He may easily live in a neighborhood where, unless he is an exceptionally able fighter, it is a sign of common sense rather than of an introverted personality to avoid meetings with other children.

II. PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY: MATERIAL USED

THIS paper is an attempt to make a preliminary survey of some of the personal and social effects of deafness. The principal material on which it is based consists of 82 letters from graduates and former pupils of five different schools for the deaf.¹ The letters were written as answers to an informal questionnaire that was distributed through the courtesy of the heads of the five schools. The questions were chosen both to obtain information on specific problems and to make a starting point from which the individual could go on and discuss his own problems. In some cases the questions were answered by single statements, but often some of them led to longer accounts of events and attitudes that seemed significant to the writer. The questionnaire and the letter which accompanied it will be found in Appendix A p. 134.

Obviously a questionnaire study of this sort is limited in its scope. Probably its greatest weakness is that it cannot tap the level of the un verbalized, unformulated attitudes which are often important for understanding the dynamics of behavior. Another limitation is that it draws responses only from a selected group. In our study the questionnaire was sent out only to persons who were considered likely to be interested in answering it, and to those who were known to have a sufficient command of English to understand its purpose and to be able to express what they wished to say. Further selection occurred in that only about one-third of those who received the questionnaire sent in replies. Nevertheless it seems a sufficiently diversified group to form a fairly good cross-section of the deaf population. There are laborers, factory workers and housemaids, as well as professional workers and some, especially women, who were living at home with their parents. The numbers of men and women were almost equal and there were almost twice as many who were deaf from birth or early childhood as of those who lost their hearing after they had begun to speak.

¹ Material was obtained from the Clarke School and in addition from the Rochester School, the Pennsylvania School at Mount Airy, the Western Pennsylvania School at Pittsburgh, and the New Jersey School at Trenton. We are very grateful to the heads of these schools for their cooperation in sending our questionnaires out among their graduates and collecting the replies for us. Special thanks are also due the group of alumni from these schools who responded to our request for information and gave so much time and thought to their letters. They have been our collaborators. Many of them showed a deep insight into their own problems and we hope that we have succeeded in presenting the material that they gave us in such a way that it will yield something of value both to the deaf and to those who are associated with them.

Additional material was obtained from interviews with seven adults who had been deaf from birth or early childhood² and from magazine articles by or about the hard of hearing. The problems of the hard of hearing are, of course, different in many respects from those of the deaf and we do not try to give a picture of that group. Neither do the quotations that we have used represent an exhaustive survey of what has been written in regard to it. We have only used a few quotations that seemed to express in an especially apt way what had already been brought out by the deaf themselves.

Since the questionnaire was constructed to explore a new field and to reveal possibilities for more exact study rather than to provide systematic answers to questions that were already known to be important we did not try to evaluate the results statistically. This paper cannot answer such questions as "What percentage of the deaf suffer under a particular deprivation?" or "Are those who become deaf after they have learned language more or less inclined to be maladjusted than those who are deaf from their early years?" Instead it serves only to survey the field, to show what the deaf actually mind about being deaf and what means they use to bridge the gaps produced by their deafness. Our general procedure was to make a careful study of the material obtained from these groups of deaf persons and to outline the aspects of deafness that seemed significant to them. We then went through the material and put together what was said about each of these problems. In this way we obtained a kind of composite picture of the world of the deaf adult and the problems that are involved in his adjustment to that world as he sees them.

It is true that this picture gives only one aspect of the problems of the deaf: it presents them only as he himself sees them. It is probably a subjective picture and one that is often distorted. We have no means of correcting the distortions since all of our material comes from the deaf. It will have to be corrected and amplified by pictures of other aspects of the problem, especially by information from relatives and friends and by systematic observations and experimentation. But even with these limitations it represents an important aspect of the problem and one that must be taken into account in a final objective description of the problem from all its different angles.

² These interviews and a valuable study of the material obtained from them were made by N. J. Tullis as part of a course at Smith College.

III. ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THE LETTERS AND INTERVIEWS

a. What Does the Deaf Person Actually Miss by Being Deaf?

AT WHAT points does he feel himself handicapped? What frustrations and limitations enter into his everyday life situation?

In the comments³ that answer these questions two different kinds of deprivation are mentioned. The one is the loss of sound for its own sake; the other is the loss of sound as a means of social intercourse.

1. *Sound in its non-social functions.* This concerns largely the aesthetic enjoyment of the sounds of nature, the rumbling and rustling of things about us that give an undercurrent to our lives, as well as the enjoyment of music in the different forms in which it comes to us. It probably has immediate, practical value only insofar as it plays a part in physical security. The following quotations serve as examples of the way in which the deaf speak of this deprivation:

43 (m):⁴ Before I went to school (*i.e.* before he lost his hearing) I used to hear all the hums of the insects, the croaks of frogs, the hoots of owls, and all the noises made by the birds. . . . I no longer can hear the hums of insects except for the crickets or even the croaks of the frogs or

³ It will be noted in the course of the paper that the same quotation is sometimes repeated in whole or part in a second section to which it is also applicable.

At the same time we do not give every quotation that bears on the subjects discussed in the paper. We quote only the statements that are worded so as to add to the reader's insight into particular problems. Bare statements that a problem exists, or statements that repeat what has already been said are usually omitted in order to save space and make the paper easier to read. But the total number of statements on each of the major subjects discussed in the letters is given in Appendix C, page 153. It will be noted that some comments appear in this table which are not taken up in the body of the paper, for example, on page 157, the comparison of the life situation of the deaf writers with that of their hearing brothers and sisters. In other cases a sub-division is used in the paper or a single comment given which does not fit into any of the categories used in the table.

⁴ The italicized number designates the writer of the letter from which the quotation is taken in each case. The letter in parenthesis (m or f as the case may be) indicates his sex. The seven persons who were interviewed are designated by capital letters A-G. Appendix B, page 136, gives a short description of each person summarized from the material of his letter or interview. It will be noted that the numbers run to 98 although there are actually only 82 letters. This is because some numbers were assigned in advance as the questionnaires were sent out and in some of these cases no replies were received.

The material is given in the words of the writers except when the text indicates clearly that it has been re-stated. In some cases small grammatical changes have been made in the wording of the quotations.

the hoots of the owls. I sure missed all these very much. I have spent many summer nights out in the fields and sometimes out in the woods listening hard for all these noises I used to hear . . . but I couldn't hear one.

73 (m): I was afraid of the dark—especially after becoming deaf as I could no longer distinguish the “noises” that I heard or felt. I have always hoped that I might hear again in order that I might . . . enjoy music of all kinds.

42 (f): After losing my hearing I was deathly afraid of snakes, lightning, and of things unseen, things I knew were there but could not see and could not hear.

7 (m): My life has been different from theirs (hearing brothers and sisters) only in those situations that are peculiar to a hearing person. They enjoy concerts, radio programs, the theater, and get a great deal more benefit out of public addresses and classroom lectures.⁵

44 (m): . . . there doesn't seem to be much difference . . . but they seem able to enjoy more than I as they can hear the radio, talkie movies. . . .

52 (m): Worry: Can't hear the music I so dearly love. At public school I was learning music, have followed it for a while.

60 (f): I wish I can hear and listen to the radio and sing. . . .

The sounds of nature as something to be enjoyed for their own sake are only mentioned this once in all of our letters, and then by someone in whose life they once played a real part. Music is mentioned both by people who have heard and by those who remember having enjoyed it. The difference between the two kinds of sound as they are discussed in our material probably lies in the fact that listening to music more often approaches social experience. The deaf person more often sees people, especially groups of people enjoying something from which he is cut off in the case of music than that of the more fleeting sounds of nature. Therefore this loss, in many cases at least, is already felt more as a social frustration than as a primary sensory deprivation.

Nevertheless the question of how significant the sensory loss itself may be is an interesting one. There seems to be little direct scientific evidence

⁵ Some of these items like theater and public addresses may be regarded as social in that they involve the understanding of language. We let them stand here with the definitely non-social items like concerts and radio (where it means only music) since they do not involve a personal exchange with other people in the sense of conversation.

of the part that sound plays in the integration of personality, yet there are frequent references to its emotional value and it has even been suggested that the deaf may require greater stimulation through other channels to compensate for the relatively cold, lifeless sensory media through which the world comes to them. An article published in the *Atlantic Monthly* by Margaret Baldwin (4, p. 731), who lost her hearing in her adult years, gives a vivid description of what this aspect of deafness may mean:

In my own case my conception of its effect was literally that of a lost world. The palpable reality of life was suddenly void—its elemental phenomena suspended. Silence fell upon the world like a hush of death and I alone seemed alive in the midst of it. . . . The impairment of those things most intimately connected with the utilitarian and social relations of life, while an intense source of trouble was never so destructive of the individuality as the loss of beauty and inspiration that went out with certain sounds. . . . There must be something more elemental in the background of these things than was generally understood . . . sound pure and simple has a specific relation to feelings widely different from that of sight. Its primary effect was that of creating moods. It has been specialized into all kinds of forms that convey facts to the intelligence, but its earliest business was something else, and that business still exists. This being so, the simple fact is that sound has far more to do fundamentally with originating our emotions, or how we feel from day to day, than has what we see. . . . A writer has pointed out that we can see with indifference the writhings of a suffering animal that is silent, but that if there are cries of pain, it produces emotion at once.

2. *Sound as a means of social intercourse.* However important the loss of sound for its own sake may be, we can safely assume that with the average person the loss of sound as a means of communication is vastly more significant. This fact makes for one of the differences between the deaf and the blind. The blind are handicapped in their relation with the physical environment. This, of course, affects their social relations, but for the most part indirectly. The deaf are handicapped in their intercourse with the social environment. Hearing is the social sense par excellence. The deaf person can do many things that the blind cannot. He can get around by himself; he can handle machines; he can drive a car; but one thing he cannot do—he cannot converse freely with hearing people. The number of different ways in which this aspect of deafness is felt shows clearly in our letters.

We first quote a number of letters in which the difficulty of enjoying conversation is stressed.

7 (m): There were no particular difficulties in our relationships, though there were many, many times I longed for my hearing, when a big crowd of young people would be gathered on a porch or grouped around a camp fire, with bantering conversation flying to and fro.

My greatest disadvantage will be my inability to take part in large group discussions. . . . No lip-reader, however good he may be, can follow without interruption a topic as it is flung from mouth to mouth of a group of more than three or four people. Inevitably a phrase is lost, and this phrase may be the key to a series of statements, and by the time the trend is discovered, an entirely new topic has come up.

29 (m): Of course I differ from them (hearing brothers and sisters) in the ability to be sociable; easy in conversation, and expressive in spoken and written language.

48 (m): Difficulty with others: Only at night. When I could not see them to understand what they were saying.

Greatest wish: To be able to hear again just like my friends and to be able to carry on conversation as they do.

49 (f): My feelings were hurt when my grown up relatives were very attentive to my hearing cousins and not to me on account of my deafness.

80 (f): It hurts my feelings when I am in a crowd of people who are having a good time for I cannot always hear enough to be kept interested.

91 (m): I do not find any difference in our lives (has both deaf and hearing brothers) with the exception of conversations.

50 (f): It always hurt my feelings when we had company and they talked and I did not know what they said.

57 (f): This knowledge affected me more than the loss of pleasure of music, not being able to enjoy conversation by sound.

88 (f): Mostly I wished I could have my hearing so that I would be able to converse with hearing people.

8 (f): When I am in a group of people I sometimes wish I could hear so I could know more about what people are thinking, but being deaf does not make me unhappy as it does some of my friends.

22 (f): It was not quite the same, however (after she became deaf at eight). I could not join in their conversation nor enter whole-heartedly in the game. I was usually watching them or tagging along.

After I left ——— (school for the deaf) I attended high school. I was very self-conscious and very much aware of my deafness. Everybody was rushing here and there and talking a mile a minute. And there were so many of them!

45 (f): (Lives with a married sister who hears): I can't keep up a conversation with her company for long enough.

78 (m): Hurt: When left alone after dark, unable to follow general conversation or join in music or singing.

98 (f): Yes, I had some special difficulties with them. They would not understand me and I was the only one who could not hear in town. It was something new to them. They could not talk to me so it made it a little harder to get along with them.

33 (m): I have one hearing sister. Our lives have been quite normal, the only difficulty being in comprehending her talks.

. . . My relations with the hearing people at ——— University are similar to that when I first attended public school. The only difference is the fact that I am sometimes compelled to write in order to make my thoughts understood. . . . Likewise the teachers and a few hearing friends resort to writing.

61 (f): . . . only difficulty (with playmates) was in conversation. As a child feared most in conversing with others. Worried about my inability to converse with others.

Other writers speak of this aspect of deafness as follows:

(Haines, 16, p. 151): It is hard for one to keep from feeling that others live in a different world. Never is this feeling stronger than when many people are around, especially if they are having a good time.

(Lyttleton, 20, p. 140): A deaf man in the company of his fellows is perpetually being reminded of his infirmity. "You are not as we are: the very effort we make to include you in the social circle is further evidence that you are under the ban of isolation. Our mirth is not yours: the best joke is often spoiled by repetition; and if it is not repeated you only know that we are laughing while you are saddened. . . ."

On the whole, of course, deafness does not mean that a person is entirely unable to communicate with other people; it means that he gets only part of what is going on about him. The significance of this partial deprivation is emphasized by hard of hearing writers who were more conscious than those who had been deaf longer of the difference between the full contacts that they previously enjoyed and the limited amount that they were able to receive after they became deaf.

(Anon., 1, p. 241 f.): The difficulty of communicating causes their interlocutors to compress what they have to say into the fewest possible words.

The usual garnish of adjectives and interjections is clipped carefully away; qualifications disappear; everything is made more rigid and absolute. The infinite variations of emphasis and accent are of course altogether dismissed. He is presented with but one view of a subject. The light thrown from several sides is denied him.

(Anon., 2, p. 379): What we hear . . . constantly qualifies the conclusions that we base on the testimony of our eyes alone. To see disputes and not know the rights of them, and to have to sit passive without taking a hand is irritating; to get angry and use bad words which are based on misapprehension . . . is mortifying; to see the pool troubled and not to be able to get in is trying. . . .

Haines mentions the same problem in writing about acquired deafness (16, p. 154):

(People) think that all defective hearing involves is not hearing what goes on and they remind one that much is said that is not worth while. . . . They do not know that these trivialities are essential to keeping in touch with life, and to understanding customs that enable one to know what to do or say in various circumstances.

Some emphasize the way in which their handicap affects their relations with other people.

4 (m): Has one brother . . . : The difference between our lives is that he has a better education and more friends than I have.

92 (?): I don't feel as close to life as they are (hearing brothers and sisters). They are in closer touch with people and life than I can be.

With others, the problem is that of making contacts with hearing people, of overcoming the barriers in understanding that separate them from the hearing people in general. For example:

88 (f): "Since I left school I thought surely I would never be able to go out with the hearing people." . . . got a position at the ——— Company. Made several hearing friends and enjoyed their company.

28 (f): I . . . wondered from time to time what life would be like when I had graduated. . . . Would it be very different and would I make hearing friends who would sincerely want me to be with them?

98 (f): I have most wished that I could have one hundred per cent hearing so that I would get along well with people. I have missed many things that I could not hear well.

29 (m): Wished: Also for friends of the right type for intellectual and cultural enjoyment.

77 (m): Worried: about losing friends.

54 (f): In my home town we had a social position and everyone knew us. Here in S, I have had to create what social position I have now, and it has not always been easy to force people to respect a deaf family.

1 (m): . . . at that (even when his speech was at its best) it's hard to locate nice girls, that you enjoy.

32 (m): Another problem is to meet the right kind of people you want to meet.

Often the difficulty in social intercourse is described in different terms. What is stressed is not the function of language in bringing people together in groups and in facilitating more diffuse social contact but the function of communicating specific information. Deafness not only makes for difficulty in general conversation but also for difficulty in understanding and communicating concrete content. Misunderstandings often arise that have far-reaching effects. There are two different aspects of this failure to make oneself understood; first, the simple fact of failing to accomplish something that one wants to do (*Cf.* example 71 below); second the fact that the failure often occurs in a situation in which understanding is a means of obtaining something else. In some cases (for example 34 below) this is a concrete goal. In other cases it involves the esteem in which the person is held by others. Examples of childhood punishments that were incurred because of inability to explain a situation to a teacher or parent are of this type (See examples 21 and 54, below).

Failure to understand others is also important in situations in which action is involved. We are constantly called upon to act as members of a group rather than as individuals. To understand what is going on and to coöperate in such a case is entirely different from allowing oneself to be moved about like a pawn on a checker-board by others in a group. That they are expected to act without real participation in this way is one of the most frequent sources of difficulty with young children. In considering the adjustment of the deaf it is important to take into account the fact that action without explanation is required of the young deaf child much more frequently than of the hearing child; also that conformity of this sort, to a course of action that is understood by others and not by oneself, is expected of the deaf adult who is associated with hearing people to a much greater extent than of the normal person who is almost automatically part of the group situations in which he is involved.

This means that the failure to understand other people often serves to set up a typical situation involving anger.⁶ In other cases the inability to understand causes anxiety and insecurity. The following examples serve to illustrate different aspects of this blocking of attempted communication. It will be noted that these examples, with the exception of 71, are based on experiences of early childhood when the person was still unable to explain himself to others. The same kind of difficulty occurs with the older deaf person, but then he usually feels that it is only because the hearing person has not understood what he said and will not take time to let him repeat, not that he is unable to make his case known.

71 (f): What made me angry? First the failure of people to understand me, *not* my failure to understand them, but always they didn't understand me.

34 (f): A playmate had taken a bow from a new teddy bear. "I knew it was mine, but I was quite defenseless for I had not yet passed the stage of speaking (single) words such as eye, nose, mouth, thumb, etc. So I cried angrily at the supervisor's refusal to believe my action (gesture) that the bow was mine."

21 (f): She had gone out for Sunday dinner with friends of her family and returned to school because she had been frightened by three little boys who made faces at her. The teachers were surprised to see her appear in the school dining room. They wondered. . . . "But I could not tell them what had happened as I did not know how to explain."

She had picked up a rubber doll lying on a table. A leg fell out and the other children told the teacher that she had broken it. "I couldn't tell her exactly how the leg came out and got a scolding for nothing."

54 (f): Between the time I became deaf and the time I went to school my mother said I was absolutely unmanageable because I did not understand anyone. For instance, when it was time to get off the trolley car, I declined flatly to do so, because they could not tell me that we were to see Auntie up the street, etc. I sat in the road in a burst of temper.

What hurt me? The fact that I was punished and punished without explanations and most of the time I did not know why.

⁶ This is one of the cases in which the frustration caused by deafness produces aggression which is certainly one result to which deafness can lead. But there are many others in which the results of deafness seem to be something quite different from aggression. We believe that these cases contradict the hypothesis that frustration always leads to aggression. (Cf. "Frustration and Aggression," Dollard, Doob, etc., Yale University Press, 1939. This work did not come to the attention of the authors until after the completion of this paper.) But of course such a study as this cannot absolutely disprove this hypothesis since a questionnaire study cannot yield complete records of response to frustration.

62 (m): When I was taken to school for the first time and left there it seemed as if I was never going back home again. I worried for fear I would never see my parents again.

21 (f): Brother and I got along very well. I was four and he was two when he died. I wondered why brother slept in a white casket and people wept. I missed him and asked Mother where he was. She said (doubtless by gesture) that wings grew out of his back and he flew away through the sky, never to return . . . he looked like an angel in one of the pictures in Grandma's Bible. As a consequence I was haunted by his angelic beauty and my dreams were disturbed.

66 (f): I wondered why my brothers and sisters could talk but not me. I tried to ask my father why I could not talk but he could not explain it to me.

4 (m): I was sick with scarlet fever for a long time, so when I got to be around again I wondered why I could not understand people who talked to me as I used to. I asked my mother why things were so and she said I would understand later in life.

58 (m): Again, I remember a boy with me was playing around an open manhole, he fell in and did not come out. I ran into the house crying but could not explain.

One year before I went to school I remember my father dying. He was sitting up before my relatives and a doctor and some friends. . . . Of course I did not know what it was all about until long afterwards. I remember how he lay in death and that people prayed and kissed him but I refused to touch him.

I also remember going to the doctor who cut my throat for enlarged glands which my mother explained to me long afterwards.

75 (m): (Story written in third person.) Just before his school age his father takes him to his elder cousin's funeral. He sees the sleeping face from his father's arms. The close-up shows a puzzled expression on his face. He wonders. He silently observes the commotion in the house and he does not understand the significance.

"Why is the boy sleeping in the box?" he tries to reason. No knowledge. "Why are the people crying?" The boy fails to comprehend.

As the coffin is lowered in the grave, the sensation of stark terror touches the boy's heart. He is more terrified than ever but shows no emotion. The next day finds him enacting the minister's rôle, going through every

detail from memory. He places a soap box in the yard, mounts on it, and imitates the minister officiating at the funeral.

In regard to the question of the insecurity which the small deaf child may experience it is interesting to note that many of the answers to our questions, "Were you afraid of anything as a child?" are negative. A number mention briefly that they were afraid of the dark⁷ (*Cf.* 73 and 42, p. 71); some mention being afraid of a particular room; some mention being afraid of cows or Indians, or objects of that sort which they have been told as they grew older would hurt them; one who lived near a state institution speaks of a fear of the insane. Some speak, naturally, of being timid about meeting strangers as they grew older, but as a group they dwell very little on their fears. It may be, of course, that the deaf child suppresses his fears because he lacks the language in which to express them. One of our writers, however, explains an absence of fears in her early childhood in another way:

71 (f): No, I wasn't afraid of anything as a young child. Later I learned to be afraid when I learned what things other children were afraid of. . . . The girls at school taught me to be afraid of imaginary Indians, of animals, etc.

Another deprivation that is mentioned in some of the letters is the inability to enjoy membership in the relatively permanent "secondary" groups that play a large part in the lives of many hearing people. Some of the deaf succeed in joining these groups as more or less full members, but certainly the difficulties of communication make them less accessible to the deaf than to normal persons.

Inability to attend school with hearing brothers and sisters is often mentioned from the childhood experiences of the writers:

43 (m): I also remember that I always wanted to go to public school with my brother and sister.

71 (f): . . . I always wanted to know why I couldn't be like them so I could go to school with them.

From the adult years participation in church and community life is spoken of similarly:

80 (f): I miss the social life of the community more than anything else. I do not go to church because I cannot hear the minister and I do not

⁷ Brunswick (9, p. 103), in her quantitative study, found that more deaf than hearing children confess to being afraid in the dark.

attend many of the social gatherings. I feel embarrassed when in a mixed group of people with whom I am not well acquainted.

Just such groups involve the understanding of speech under circumstances that offer special difficulties to the deaf. To understand a speaker who addresses a group from a distance is something quite different from understanding someone close at hand who consciously or unconsciously modifies his way of speaking according to the extent to which a single listener follows what he is saying. And of course the difficulty which the deaf meet in joining the conversation of a group of hearing people presents an obstacle to their becoming part of any of these more permanent groups. (*Cf.* 7, p. 72).

Closely related to the problems of joining groups, either temporary or permanent, is that of being left out of particular activities that are going on about one. That is especially hard because it often serves to emphasize the fact that a person, who in many circumstances feels himself a full member of a group, does not actually enjoy full membership status. This kind of experience is mentioned both in regard to childhood and to adult situations.

7 (m): The things that hurt me have been the slight, thoughtless inattentions of my playmates—failure to include me in some scheme or other.

22 (f): Having children exclude me from some game because I couldn't keep up with them hurt me.

21 (f): Sister four years younger: In our younger days she used to go to dances and I did not. I was a little envious of her social activities.

42 (f): My feelings were hurt mostly when I was excluded by my hearing friends from any social gathering or other activity on account of my deafness.

48 (m): Being able to hear, my sisters go to dances and shows but it is different with me. At a dance I cannot hear the music and can not keep time as they can and at a show I can not hear the voices of the persons who are acting.

87 (f): Was hurt: If I was left out of good times that some of my friends enjoyed.

96 (m): Was hurt: When I was not invited to a party when my friends were invited and the like.

Some of the deaf feel definitely that they are restricted, in comparison with their hearing brothers and sisters, in their outlook on life, that they

were unable to receive as good education, and that they have fewer active interests.

58 (m): They could talk and have interests while I merely looked on and waited.

63 (m): Differs from them only in scope and types of interests, although we share many in common.

55 (m): I have most longed for . . . knowledge and education.

4 (m): . . . he (brother) had a better education . . . than I have.

A few of the writers speak of definite ways in which the limitations of deafness affect their efficiency, as well as of the more general effects of their handicap.

44 (m): . . . they can go around easier when they can answer questions put to them. (Comparing himself with his hearing brothers and sisters.)

74 (f): Often I have to go long distances when half the time would have been saved if I could use a telephone.

25 (f): The only way in which my deafness has been a trouble and a sorrow has been in caring for two sick old people—my father and mother. . . . Mother had a painful and very serious heart trouble. Father used to be away on business . . . and I'd have the care of mother. She had attacks at night quite often and I used to be so afraid she wouldn't be able to call me! That was when I got the habit of sleepless nights. . . . (Later): Father was sick at night and fell. And I had been sleeping and hadn't heard him. . . . Sometimes deafness is a handicap, you see.

b. Behavior and Attitudes of the Hearing Toward the Deaf: In order to understand the full meaning of the social limitations involved in deafness we have to consider the behavior and attitudes of hearing persons toward the deaf as they appear to the deaf. We find that many of the deaf feel that the cause of their difficulties lies with the hearing. That they themselves are handicapped in a physical sense they recognize and accept, but that their deafness involves peculiar social problems they blame largely on the group of those who are not deaf. In a later section we shall show that the deaf are probably justified, to a large extent, in this feeling. At this point we quote the statements made by the deaf about the hearing. These may be grouped as follows:

1. *Exclusiveness or inaccessibility of the hearing.* Many letters contain the complaint that the hearing do not bother to talk to the deaf, that they are impatient, that only a few intimates or very sympathetic people take the trouble to enter into conversation with the deaf.

28 (f): I was rather shy of the gay crowd of my sister and would have moments of bitterness that I had no crowd of my own. My sister was younger and beginning to be thoughtless like her friends.

21 (f): I get along nicely with intelligent, sympathetic hearing people but unfortunately there are very few of them.

54 (f): I enjoy the companionship of an intelligent, hearing person so much that it hurts me to find so few of them exist who are willing to talk at length to a deaf person like me.

47 (m): With the hearing it is difficult to get acquainted as a deaf person gets older. Only intimates of close friends take the trouble to strike up an acquaintance.

69 (f): It was difficult to make the hearing children understand my ways. They would plan games and lots of times they neglected to take the time to explain to me. Then I would feel left out.

35 (m): Among the hearing, I have met only a few who have the patience to really enjoy being with the deaf.

32 (m): I cannot understand them all the time and they get mad.

81 (?): . . . people will tolerate a deaf person only so long as he does not become a nuisance.

82 (m): The best of my childhood friends would not have the patience to repeat. In time I learned automatically to smile and laugh when they did.

29 (m): Those who do not (understand and appreciate us) are pretty hard to get along with. Since they do not bother to talk to us it is up to us to be on the initiative.

Discusses his difficulties in making contact with his "boss": Many times do I wish that he would come to my desk and chat with me in a friendly way. I feel sure that it is the best way for us to know each other more quickly.

50 (f): Of course they were nice to me (the hearing people at church socials and the like) but they never talked to me except a few words at a time.

98 (f): I wanted to play with the hearing children and they would not let me. I threw stones at them. . . .

84 (f): Deafness made a great deal of difference—often so often—I was left out of everything on account of deafness.

The difficult thing is to get a hearing person to talk with a deaf person. The more intellectual class are willing to sit down and write things out for the deaf, but the average business man has no time to waste writing or otherwise.

88 (f): I used to be very angry because none seemed to take pains in talking to me—was left alone most of the time. Used to devote my time to cutting out doll pictures, etc. Mostly I wished I would have my hearing so that I would be able to converse with the hearing people. (Later made friends with the hearing where she was employed.)

97 (f): My older sister treated me as a nuisance and did not like to have me play with her and the other children.

71 (f): No, I didn't have any difficulties with them (other children). I simply did not know or realize any difficulty. It was when we grew up things began to change, they did not want me any more.

The two following quotations are not so clearly cases of exclusion but we quote them here because they suggest the difference between childhood and adult relations with the hearing that is mentioned by 71 above.

35 (m): During the early days of my deafness I got along very well with the hearing children, due probably to the fact that there was more action to be done in play than hearing. (In later years he withdrew to escape having to ask constantly, "What's that?")

15 (f): I never experienced any difficulty in my relations with them (hearing children) because we had many games to play. But as I grew older I grew shy.

One more quotation from the writer quoted just above, one which might also have come from many a hearing person about his own school days, described another situation in which the deaf child felt that the hearing person would not take time to listen.

15 (f): I believe that a boy or girl who tries to speak back to the teacher should be given a chance to speak for it expresses his feelings. . . . I have personally watched a boy or girl suffer for not being able to tell it all and I do think it is all wrong. . . . there is many a boy or girl who is sensitive and this may kill a desire within.

Thus the initiative for the social contact is left to the deaf person. But if he tries to keep up with the group by too many questions the hearing are too indifferent (or lazy) to give satisfactory answers.

60 (m): When my friends called at the house and talked and laughed if they would not tell me what they were laughing about, naturally that hurt my feelings. Later on when I would go out with hearing boys they would talk and laugh. When I would ask what the joke was and they would say, "Oh, nothing" that hurt my feelings.

62 (m): When I go home and see my parents and brothers talking, naturally I ask them what they are talking about, but they don't want to bother telling me anything. They listen to the radio while I read the papers and magazines but I would rather have them talk to me.

A (f): I was conscious I was in a world by myself. I would ask my cousin how to behave. She would answer, "Don't say this or that, say nothing." When the girls came to the house my cousin and they took the conversation away and treated me like a piece of furniture. Although fond of me, they had no penetration into my feelings or thoughts. My sister and cousin went to a private school where I also was sent. The girls there soon took the cue from my sister and cousin and then I was no better off than at home. They could forge ahead, there would not be this confining influence which creates an insulation. I would try to talk but people would politely answer and promptly return to their own absorbing conversation, thus making me realize that I had interrupted. I did not know the proper approach to make in order to insure me a part in the mental life of my hearing associates. "What are they excited about?" "Nothing." So I got discouraged and decided to break away. Not without developing a complex against that world into which I had so little hope of penetrating. At a dinner party I would ask, "What are they saying?" "I will tell you later." So I had to be quiescent. Now I realize that it was thoughtless ignorance on their part, but it made me feel rebellious and frustrated. From experience I learned that hearing people become irritated by the deaf talking to them.

91 (m): . . . I often would have to ask people . . . to repeat what they said to me and often they would resent it and say, "Oh, yeah" and other words to that effect. This hurt my feelings very much and made me angry.

28 (f): Mere answers "Yes" and "I don't know" or "No" to any of my queries hurt me.

33 (m): When people stop in the middle of an explanation and give up this also hurts my feelings.

76 (m): Angry: By not understanding what they were saying at first I asked for repeat some refused.

Some people were good to me and they understand—some aren't at all and it hurts my feelings.

73 (m): . . . the deaf people do not follow the trend of the conversation. On asking "What are you talking about?" the usual reply is, "Nothing much."

Often the hearing exclude the deaf from games or groups and fail to recognize that their social needs are as great as those of normal persons:

52 (m): Hurt my feelings when I am left alone without a playmate.

68 (m): . . . they had difficulty understanding me. I played games with them sometimes but not often. They did not bother much with me. . . .

32 (m): I played with the ones that were not too snubbish to play with a deaf boy.

7 (m): The things that hurt me were the thoughtless inattentions of my playmates—failure to include me in some scheme or other.

22 (f): Having children exclude me from some games because I couldn't keep up with them hurt me. . . .

Two of the hard of hearing writers say:

(Baldwin, 3, p. 491): It all but seems that hearing people have the idea that the deaf do not need and can do entirely without the very pleasure that they themselves are always seeking.

(Montague, 22, p. 196): The way of the deaf is made hard largely through the unconscious cruelty of hearing people. This is usually due to a lack of understanding of how serious the handicap is.

2. *Active hostility, teasing, making fun of the deaf by the hearing.* The hearing not only disregard the deaf and do not go out of the way to help them but often they show open unfriendliness. This is often mentioned in regard to childhood experiences and one gets the impression that the lot of the handicapped child among normal children may be a hard one.

25 (f): Naturally I suffered at the hands of the other school children, as a handicapped child always does. I never had any trouble with the

neighborhood children. It was always the school children I suffered from. (She was tried in public school after losing her hearing, before being sent to a school for the deaf.)

17 (m): I remember being hurt at the age of twelve when a hearing child called me "deaf and dumb."

35 (m): I remember when a classmate, after an argument, called me "deafey." This certainly hurt my feelings.

32 (m): I remember quite a few difficulties with them (hearing children). One was about making fun of my deafness.

11 (m): Some of the kids would make fun of me on account of my affliction. It would make me feel very blue and sad.

64 (m): . . . some of the hearing boys made fun of my speech.

60 (m): I always had a good time with the hearing children but I was often angry because they liked to tease me and haze me for fun. . . . Some of the boys put their thumbs in their ears and wiggled their hands. That meant dumb and hurt my feelings.

One time some of the hearing boys locked me in a chicken coop for fun. I was cross and tried to break the door. I broke the door and ran after the boys and hit one of them.

85 (m): I was always angry when called "dummy."

98 (f): The hearing children that learned I was deaf would call me names. They did not realize what they meant.

41 (f): To be called deaf and dumb hurt my feelings more than anything else.

62 (m): Angry: Whenever my brother, who always had to take me with him when he went out to play, teased me by calling me a dummy. I would get angry and fight him.

68 (m): . . . they teased me because I was deaf. This caused a fight.

83 (m): Special difficulties with hearing children: You said it: The girls were not so bad—they would only evince curiosity and giggle . . . the boys, well, every Tom, Dick, and Harry would show off what a fighter he was, at my expense. I was then frail and sickly; easy game.

The comments on adult experiences show similar difficulties:

48 (m): There are some who make fun of me. . . . Angry: To have hearing persons tease me because I could not hear.

73 (m): Hurt: Being called a "dummy."

75 (m): I was always angry when called "Dummy."

89 (f): When hearing people ridiculed me because I was deaf, my feelings were hurt.

57 (f): My feelings hurt when people would make fun of deaf . . . they made fun of my voice. . . .

50 (f): I know that some people laugh at their different sounding voices.

29 (m): The boss . . . laughs openly at my slips.

32 (m): . . . even now when I mispronounce a word I can tell if the hearing person makes fun of it and that makes me awful mad. And whenever a hearing person makes fun of any deaf boy or girl that too makes me very mad because a deaf boy or girl has as much right to live as a hearing person.

They can dance better than I and make fun of my dancing.

69 (f): There is nothing that hurts so much as when I feel anyone making fun of my speech. . . .

83 (m): . . . and if you think some of us deaf are "queer and crabby" you ought to survey some prime hearing specimens I have met. Half the hearies will meet you half way; 10% will even go to inconvenience to be helpful to you; 10% will take sadistic delight in being mean.

G (f): Cruelly different was my husband's experience who attended a public day school and suffered excruciating pain from the boys calling him "dummy" and although today he is looked upon as brilliant in his line . . . still he bears the marks of the torture he was subjected to in his youth. Only with his ten-year-old son is he truly free.

3. *Being considered inferior by the hearing.* We see from these examples that the deaf resent the behavior of the hearing not merely because the hearing fail to help them over difficulties, or in some cases go out of their way to make trouble for them, but because of the attitude that their behavior implies. What is hard for the deaf to bear goes far beyond the inconveniences of being deaf or the inability to keep in touch with other people in conversation. What they have in mind is the feeling that the hearing treat them as inferiors, that they are moved about like "pieces of furniture." The reason that the hearing do not bother to talk with the deaf and respond only evasively to their questions is that they do not consider it worth while; they do not consider the deaf full human beings.

That this is the way the deaf interpret the behavior of the hearing is shown by many of the comments that we have already quoted. In the following it is expressed more directly:

25 (f): But most of all (I became angry) for being thought stupid. So many people think that if you are unable to hear speech readily you must be incapable of understanding what you hear.

47 (m): Striking an average I believe that the deaf are no better or worse than the hearing; there are intelligent deaf and others; but I have met hearing persons who consider the deaf mentally deficient as a whole.

54 (f): Here in ——— I have had to create what social position I have now and it has not been easy to force people to treat a deaf family with respect.

Montague (22, *p.* 197): I asked one lady . . . what she especially minded about her deafness. She said, "People's impatience and being regarded as stupid." Yes, it would be helpful if one's friends would realize that it is deaf ears, not feeble minds that make us slow on the uptake.

92 (?): Problem: To try to get on a footing with the hearing people. It seems the hearing people put the deaf in a class different from themselves and don't realize they are able in many things as they are.

94 (m): My feelings were hurt by being thought incapable of doing things. . . .

18 (f): I did not like a hearing person to tell another that I was deaf or could not do such a thing. . . . I have most wished any hearing person would realize that a deaf person could do as much as he did.

73 (m): It is hard for deaf auto owners to get insurance on their cars, not because the deaf are more careless but in case of accidents necessitating a jury trial the jury would be liable to be against the deaf person.

90 (f): Worried for fear she would make the impression that because she could not hear very well, she was not as capable of doing a thing as one with all his faculties. I have to be urged on time and time again before I have any faith in myself. . . . I suppose it is still the fear that the first thing to be said in case of failure—"Well, what could you expect of a person who can't hear?"

97 (f): Wish: My hearing back, my rightful place among people, not to be treated as a "freak."

D (f): My husband's people are splendid, yet his mother, a fine person, cannot believe that I am able to manage. Over and over again small crises arose and she ascribed the situation to my deafness. Somehow in the minds of the public in general . . . deafness implies at the same time some mental deficiency. So we are penalized for our handicap.

See also the second part of 41, page 108.

Closely related to these explicit protests against being treated as inferior are remarks on particular kinds of behavior that carry the same meaning. A number mention being pitied as something that makes them feel that they are considered less capable than the hearing.

4 (m): What hurt my feelings was being pitied for being deaf.

88 (f): What hurts me most is whenever I see anybody say, "Too bad, she is deaf and dumb."

25 (f): I was very shy always. . . . After I became deaf it was terrible, because I couldn't bear to have people pity me as they always did. I used to beg Mother not to tell strangers about my deafness because they always said, "Oh, poor child! What a pity!" And I can remember stamping my foot angrily at one kind person and exclaiming, "But it doesn't hurt!" Never would I pity any child for any trouble.

47 (m): People displaying pity toward me because of my lack of hearing (hurt his feelings).

Montague (22, p. 197): The matter of being patted . . . a friendly and understanding pat in season is indeed a pleasant thing. It is only those that fall upon us in and out of all seasons which are irksome. At a public meeting I once sat next a lady, a very nice lady, but given to patting me as though I were an extremely nice young child behaving nicely. . . .

Another complaint made in a few of the letters is one which does not refer directly to the feeling of being treated as inferior but to something else that probably carries that implication for the deaf person. It is that the deaf are over-protected and deprived of their freedom. Although it is not mentioned often it is something that probably occurs often enough to be important in considering the general problem of the adjustment of the deaf, whether they themselves feel it as a handicap or not.

71 (f): Later I was mostly angry from loss of freedom. All my life at _____ School it was rules, rules, rules. I couldn't go out of bounds and I was never able to go off and be alone—How I longed to be by

myself. . . . I was bright, so sought after knowledge, after action—but was so often squelched that I left ——— School with a bad inferiority complex. . . . Of course I can see it was all on account of my deafness, they had to discipline me. . . . I can't deny that all was for my *good*—By being herded with the crowd, I was made irritable. . . . I was happier at home than at school because I had more liberty. After I grew up I still had this liberty. My father and mother completely trusted me . . . my belief is that the deaf should go to school for training, but should be allowed to go on their own . . . sooner than they are now.

A (f): My grandmother . . . she was nervous and concerned about me. She was strict in her supervision. I was never left alone. Horseback riding had to be in sight of the house . . . when Grandmother died my aunt said, "Now you can go anywhere." I then felt lost.

C (f): My mother used to say "no" most of the time and never stopped to give her reasons for saying so. . . . Even at the age of twenty-one I was made to feel helpless, she still insisted on controlling my spending money. . . . When I make decisions she tries to dissuade me with arguments that make me feel inadequate and helpless. I resent being reminded that I am deaf. I don't wish to feel my handicap. I enjoy making my own decisions.

The same person says later (in letter 15): All my problems were solved by Mother. Now I face problems which I have been able to solve. (She speaks further of the importance of learning to solve one's own problems.)

47 (m): The only difference (between his life and that of hearing brothers and sisters) was that I was always being protected and "helped" by well-meaning friends.

These attitudes of the hearing are also discussed by Haines (16, p. 153) in her paper about the deafened.

Self-reliance suffers, for dependence upon others is necessary in many things. . . . Because they cannot mingle on equal terms with hearing people the deafened have a feeling of inferiority. On the other hand they resent the assumption of others that they are not equal to them.

"Tolerance" and "impatience" describe in general the attitude of people toward the deafened . . . pity and a sense of superiority . . . are also marked. Many avoid the deafened. . . .

People are often considerate when they can be of service. Their pity is often a disadvantage.

Many of the deaf express a dislike of being talked about in their presence as something that reflects this attitude on the part of the hearing:

31 (m): The tendency of hearing teachers for the deaf to whisper in the presence of the hard of hearing . . . is one of the most disgusting. If such conversation must be private, see that it is discussed in private. This unruly habit of many teachers whispering in front of a deaf child is one of the most unthoughtful bits of mental cruelty practised in many of our schools, and I must confess that I find it revolting. This inconsiderate action on the part of teachers is often the cause for the growth of that inferior feeling the deaf entertain.

Montague (22, p. 198): Do not make personal remarks before the deaf that you do not wish them to hear. Plenty of people, otherwise well-bred, do it constantly, then remark smugly on the suspiciousness of the deaf. Who wouldn't be under the circumstances? You may talk about a whatnot, a hassock, a pug dog, and even a very young child before its face, but a grown-up person, merely because his hearing is defective is neither a piece of furniture, an animal, nor a young child. To be treated as such is exasperating even to our sweet tempers.

In these cases again it is not so much the exclusion from the group itself that is hard as the fact that the exclusion is interpreted as discrimination. It means to be treated without consideration, "like a piece of furniture."

Another kind of behavior which still more obviously makes the deaf person feel that he is not considered as equal to other people is being taken advantage of, or slighted in comparison with others.

59 (f): Two sisters and two brothers: Many times they took advantage of my deafness which made me unhappy.

My father's death . . . when my sisters made my home very unhappy. I left home and came to school (did domestic work in the school which she had attended).

52 (m): I have brothers and sisters, those hearing brothers and sisters always expecting the most favors and more leisure than their unfortunate brother. Most deaf are slaves.

97 (f): My feelings were hurt when my sister got all the attention and I did not. She always took things from me that I especially liked or wanted.

My sister always got what she wanted and asked for. I did not. . . .

One person speaks of not being fully informed of family affairs as something that she minds.

57 (f): Feels hurt: When I am not informed of the family's difficulties or anything good that happens to them; when people criticize our family.

This situation again carries the implication the deaf person cannot understand the situation as others would. On this account it is not worth while to tell him what is going on or to ask his advice when problems arise.

Another mentions not being believed as a child:

71 (f): What made me angry? . . . when they wouldn't believe me. To illustrate, I must have been five, going to ——— School when this happened. The teacher took great pains to have us understand that there were to be two days of holiday instead of the usual one, and that we were to stay home on both these days. I stayed home the first day all right but Mother insisted I go to school the second day and no matter how I insisted on what the teacher said, I had to go.

In some cases the deaf feel that this attitude of the hearing, that they are inferior, is shown by the way in which the hearing treat their deaf friends.

A (f): My father objected to my having deaf associates.

G (f): My mother frowned upon my having deaf friends and made it hard for me to bring them home. She thought them my intellectual inferiors, so my holidays were lonely. When I returned from college, however, she relented and saw some value in two of my deaf friends.

C (f): With only one exception, and that one my mother claims is like a hearing person, my deaf friends are never praised and often made to feel unwelcome by my mother. She is not interested in them. . . .

B (m): My wife cannot bear to have any of my deaf friends in the house. . . . So I cannot encourage this young man to come to my house who is lonely and in my own profession, . . . She enjoys his hearing relations, but not him.

4. *Feeling oneself to be different from others.* Closely related to the comments on the attitudes of the hearing are comments in regard to the mere fact of being different from other people. Many of the deaf seem to mind most the fact that they are unlike other people and are considered different by them. Among those who mention this aspect of their handicap are those who have been deaf from birth or early childhood as well as those who have known the transition from normal hearing to deafness. Following are examples of statements about this aspect of deafness from both groups:

Deaf from birth or early childhood

55 (m): My feelings were hurt because I was not like other children.

69 (f): I really never worried much about anything only perhaps to wish I were normal like the others.

Deaf later

22 (f): I was worried for fear people would not understand me or me them. I did not want people to know I was deaf.

41 (f): In speaking of her good relations with the hearing: They don't try to show off in a crowd (speak loudly or tap roughly on the shoulder or do anything to give others an idea that I am deaf).

92 (?): In general I don't feel handicapped by my deafness and don't miss much of life except that I don't feel like the rest of the people.

Considering these problems as a whole, one may say that one of the gravest difficulties that the deaf have to face in their adjustment to the world of hearing people is that of the stereotype⁸ which the hearing have formed about them. The fact that they live in a group which has a ready-made concept of "the deaf person," a concept in which their powers and dignity as members of that group are, as they feel, undervalued, is certainly a very important fact in their lives. One might think that this is only an expression of the proverbial "suspiciousness" of the deaf but there is reason to believe that on the whole it is justified. Certainly it is true that the attitude of the normal toward the blind is often very different from their attitude toward the deaf. Montague says (22, p. 195 ff.), "Deafness is the step-child among the handicaps. It begets more irritation, more ridicule, and less understanding than any other physical impairment . . . recall how often some old deaf person is the subject of a comic strip. Did you ever see blind people caricatured, and would it amuse you if you did? This is due, I think, to the fact that people do not realize the difficulties of being deaf. Someone (who took liberties with the truth) has said, 'Blindness is an affliction; deafness is only a nuisance. . . .' Of the two I think loss of hearing causes more nervous strain, isolation, and general suffering than loss of sight."

The fact that so many jokes are made at the expense of the deaf, none about the blind, that the deaf are often presented as characters in comedies, the blind only in tragedies has been commented on in the literature about the deaf, and we have seen in our own material that the deaf frequently

⁸ Social psychologists use the term "stereotype" to designate a group-accepted image or idea. The stereotype is usually expressed in a verbal form around which attitudes and habits are built up. (Cf. Young, 36, pp. 429 ff.)

report that the hearing make fun of them. The letters indicate strongly that in many cases the deaf have reasonable grounds for feeling that they are looked down upon by the hearing. No undue suspiciousness is necessary to give this interpretation to many of the experiences that are common to them, whether they live in a group that is characterized by lack of consideration and active unfriendliness, or in one that shows its feelings in over-solicitude. Certainly there are many who feel that they have succeeded in joining groups of hearing people and that the hearing treat them as equals who need only a little special consideration in certain situations. However, this does not lessen the importance of the fact that the deaf as a group are often the objects of negative attitudes or behavior from the hearing.⁹

We must ask, why are the deaf considered stupid, the blind tragic? In some cases the explanation may lie in the fact that deafness affects the sphere of language in which a great many forms of humor are possible. Slips occur frequently which can be quoted as puns, for example. However this is probably not the only explanation. An analysis of the comic suggests that it often involves a situation in which incongruence arises between things that are felt to be otherwise identical, or at least very similar. This would mean, then, that the hearing actually consider the deaf more similar to themselves than the blind. Blindness is in some ways more impressive than deafness. For this there are perhaps two reasons: (1) There is a great difference in the feelings of the normal person about his own temporary experiences of the conditions which the two handicaps involve. Quiet, even quiet as absolute as we can imagine, has an entirely different value for the normal person from darkness. We all have a certain fear of darkness because it robs us of security. Quiet, on the other hand, involves little that is awful or dangerous. (2) Blind eyes are more impressive than deaf ears. We can see blindness, usually in the face itself, almost always in every movement that the blind person makes, but

⁹ Strong (34) made a survey of attitudes of a group of 2,340 men representing eight occupational groups of different ages and found a significantly larger number who liked the blind more than the deaf, or in answer to the reverse question, who disliked the deaf more than the blind.

Phillips and Rowell (27) also speak of a tendency on the part of the normal to dislike the hypacoustic.

Best (7, p. 100), to be sure, refers to fiction in which the deaf are presented with kindly sympathy, "in some cases mingled with wonder," yet certainly the other picture is a common one in contemporary writing. In comparing the two groups (8, p. 279) he comments on the spontaneous sympathy that is always aroused by blindness and says, "... the deaf approach the general population more along economic lines, the blind more along mental and social lines." In regard to the blind in literature he says, "... instances of blind characters, usually of a kind to stir our sympathies over their misfortunes, to awaken our admiration for their long fight against overwhelming odds, or to indicate to us to what heights a human spirit may rise despite physical limitations."

the deaf person, until he has to speak or understand what someone else says usually gives the appearance of being a perfectly normal man. We think of him as equal to ourselves, then are constantly annoyed, surprised, or amused, as the case may be at the way he behaves as we come into closer contact with him. But the handicap itself is not constantly before us as the cause of his peculiar behavior. In the case of blindness, on the other hand, every abnormality of behavior is attributed directly to the handicap and objectified. It is seen from the beginning as the result of the defective vision and not as something innately related to the character and mind of the individual. Deafness in itself can be disregarded and abnormalities are then attributed to an inferiority of the personality.

"People do not realize the difficulties of being deaf." That is, since the handicap is not so impressive, they cannot imagine how they themselves would act in the absence of an auditory connection with the world; they cannot imagine what stability of personality and what intelligence are needed in making the adjustment that most of the deaf achieve.

However, even if we have to grant all that, there is certainly another side to the whole question. It is true that the hearing have a stereotype of the deaf, that they, on the whole consider them inferior and that they are much more inclined to laugh about the deaf than about the blind. But the deaf, on their side, have formed a stereotype of the hearing, and this stereotype consists in that they exaggerate the notion the hearing have formed. It is one of the characteristics of the perception of friendly or unfriendly attitudes other people have toward us that we always simplify. We always attribute happenings which have their source in many different causes to the intention of other persons. What we like and enjoy we consider as being done to us intentionally by a friendly person; what frustrates and hurts us, we think of as having been originated in the mind of an antagonistic person.

Thus it may often happen that the hearing person does not enter into conversation with the deaf person, does not explain to him what a conversation is about, or inform him of events that concern the family because of simple carelessness or laziness, or perhaps he is afraid of the embarrassment that may arise if the deaf person fails to understand him. Or, again there are times when there are things that have to be done and done quickly, in a minor emergency or as part of the day's routine, and to stop and explain it all to the deaf person with whom communication is apt to be relatively slow involves a loss of time which the hearing person feels that he cannot spare at the moment. The deaf person, on the other hand, will interpret this behavior at once in terms of the stereotype and will find

in it a confirmation of his belief, which is certainly partly justified, that the hearing person treats him as an inferior.

A lessening of this tension will come about only when both the hearing and the deaf have a more rational insight into the situation: the hearing must come to understand the objective difficulties with which the deaf have to contend and the deaf must come to understand that often it is not ill-will on the part of the hearing but more objective causes that are responsible for a failure to establish contact.

In a later section we shall see that many of the deaf recognize this fact and that they feel the importance of not being too sensitive, of treating the situation objectively and with humor.

c. Difficulties in Regard to Marriage and Securing Employment: We have surveyed in general what the deaf have to say about the difficulties involved in deafness and about the attitudes of the hearing toward them. The same difficulties are brought up again when they discuss special problems like marriage and employment.

1. *Marriage.* Marriage was mentioned in some of the letters, but in most cases only as something that the writer wished for, not as something that he said involved special problems because of his deafness. Thus:

59 (f): My greatest wish is to be married and have a nice home for it would give me pleasure to take care of it and keep it nice.

8 (f): Of course I have wished that someday I would get married and have a little home of my own, which is not unusual.

While it is possible that some of these writers feel that they are less apt to marry than if they heard, there is nothing in their letters to indicate that they feel that way, and marriages among graduates of schools for the deaf are so frequent that it is not necessary to look for that meaning behind such statements as these.

Others, however, speak of it as related to other problems that they discuss in regard to their handicap. In some cases inability to marry is part of the economic insecurity which they feel comes from the fact that they do not compete with hearing workers on equal terms.

58 (m): My keen interest in my work and my endeavor to be pleasant to everybody has done much to place me in my present position in life. Still I am not married or able to at present. My desire is for a home of my own where I can relax and be my true self, where I can rest and read and study for a better future.

In a few cases it is a question of marrying some one who hears and then the fundamental social problems of deafness are involved.

94 (m): Right now I would like to get married. . . . I would like to present the problem of how to help a girl overcome a prejudice against my deafness that is so strong it has given her nightmares and is standing in the way of our future happiness. . . . I have tried to make myself a place in the normal hearing world and feel I have done so and plan to marry a woman who is not deaf if I can.

32 (m): Another (problem) which I think is important for me but might not be important to other deaf persons is to find a nice, good-looking hearing girl who can be a good cook and yet be a good companion.

2. *Difficulties in regard to employment.* The problem of finding and keeping a position is one of those most frequently mentioned in our material. In some cases the difficulty is attributed to general economic conditions with the remark that of course everyone has that difficulty in these days. But in many the writer says explicitly that his deafness has been a handicap in finding work. Thus:

32 (m): The most difficult problem I have met in my after-school life was to find a job. I think most all deaf persons have that problem.

One feels this in the repeated expressions of a desire for security:

58 (m): Problem: That we have to do better than our hearing competitors to hold our positions.

33 (m): Most wished for: As a child toys, etc. . . . now for security.

53 (m): Wish: "A job that pays me well and will last me as long as I live."

45 (f): My only wish is to get a job so I can earn my own living.

In most cases it is felt that the chief difficulty in the way of finding work is the prejudice of the employers against the deaf.

47 (m): Difficulty: Getting an employer to give me a trial at work.

52 (m): Problem: Employment, to secure a position where the employers haven't any objection to deaf people. Those employers that discriminate against the deaf should find a way out, where the deaf are of better service.

44 (m): The worst problem I have met in my after-school life is the matter of applying for a job. When you are deaf and forced to write,

"How are the chances for a job here?" or "Is there any opening in this factory for me?" the employment agent is generally bored with writing an answer. Although there is really an opening he takes the quickest way of getting out of writing so many questions re the applicant's experience by shaking his head in the negative. Now if a man could hear things would be different.

29 (m): What do I worry about? The keeping of my job! I used to worry about finding work but now having it I worry sometimes about keeping it. Am fearful lest my boss tire of me and lay me off sometime later with glossed-over excuses. . . .

65 (m): Since then (leaving school) the main problem has been securing a job but the employers do not want to take a chance with the handicapped. At the present time I am working as an apprentice at a pattern making shop.

97 (f): The outstanding problem I have met with in my after-school life is to secure a good position. My deafness is a true handicap and my advanced education does not help overcome that handicap. Most employers are not educated to the possibilities of deaf persons in the industrial field. *In short*, the deaf person is not wanted anywhere, not even in deaf schools.

83 (m): But the more high powered and high pressured a business is, the more it seems a golden gift of gab is the Open Sesame to success.

In other cases the difficulty is felt to be, not the prejudice of the individual employer, but the legal status of the deaf worker under the compensation laws.

73 (m): If I would ever be able to earn my living was my chief topic of worry. I find the deaf are discriminated against in a good many ways. Since the Workmen's Compensation Laws have been enacted more so. Some employers consider the deaf greater risks.

81 (?): . . . large corporations will not hire deaf men on the ground that compensation cannot be secured for them in case of accidents.

Some place the blame more on the deaf themselves:

53 (m): . . . one problem in my after school life that has made things difficult for me is to get a job at the trade that I took up at school. Insurance. . . . And what's more it's the fault of the older deaf who didn't do their work right or didn't pay heed to their employer's warning or advice.

57 (f): . . . most places were willing to take me back to work but later they would not hire a deaf person because of this or that which other deaf had done. For instance, I worked at the ——— General Hospital for three school vacations and after graduation I worked there off and on . . . they always took me back. Then another deaf woman worked there. She was the only one in the wash room and a nurse missed her diamond ring and got it back. They never wanted deaf people there again.

In some of the letters the difficulty of obtaining advancement and of securing adequate compensation and fair working conditions are emphasized.

51 (m): I am worrying about not enough money to raise my family and send them to college. . . . If I could hear I would have been the foreman in my work.

50 (f): Worries about the future; doesn't want to be dependent. . . . "I have four hearing brothers and one sister. My life is not much different from theirs except that they have better jobs."

44 (m): I have always wished I could hear like the rest so I could get a better job and be up there with the rest.

32 (m): I have most wished for my hearing . . . so that I may be able to make a name for myself and make more pay. Many employers I have had care little for deaf boys and girls and give them very small pay because they think a deaf person cannot work as well as a hearing person.

57 (f): I have worked out but was mostly paid small wages because of my deafness.

43 (m): I have most wished for a good job (steady) with less than ten hours a day.

46 (f): I have nine sisters and two brothers. My life has been harder than any of theirs. Have always had to work hard for my living. (Implies that she has had to do less desirable kinds of work.)

In other cases it is the fact that fewer kinds of employment are open to the deaf that is mentioned:

60 (m): I have two hearing brothers and one sister. They have been able to do things that a deaf person is unable to do, such as a buyer in a S. S. Kresge store, a state patrolman, and a nurse.

31 (m): I worried a great deal when I realized that many avenues of employment were closed to me.

Has most wished for: A secure job with a modest income; a position that had to deal with people in some capacity, especially the deaf.

49 (f): I would have liked to become a trained nurse if I had heard.

86 (m): I find it difficult to engage in heavy manual labor with hearing persons for I cannot hear their immediate commands and helpful warnings in avoiding possible accidents.

58 (m): Problem: Securing some satisfying means of earning a living.

57 (f): I'll add that most people who are in need of help in the house prefer having hearing maids to answer the telephone and take charge of children.

d. Reaction to the Frustrations of Deafness: Different Ways of Adjusting to the Situations Involved in Deafness: We see that the actual situation in which the deaf person lives is one that would involve problems of adjustment for any person, whether he heard or not. The deaf person is always faced with a barrier, more or less great, in his efforts to communicate with other people, in making friends, and in finding economic security. Moreover, he feels with some justice at least, that his difficulties are greatly increased by the attitude that other people take toward him, that because he has some specific limitations he is often considered generally inferior in his abilities.

Our next question is: How do the deaf meet these problems? What kinds of adjustment do they make to them?¹⁰ On the basis of the material in our letters we can distinguish two principal kinds of adjustment, the one a tendency to withdraw from the larger social group and avoid the problems that social intercourse involves; the second an active adjustment, an attempt to face and compensate for the specific problems that arise.

1. *Withdrawal.* If a person meets failure again and again in certain situations he will often try to avoid these situations.¹¹ This avoidance may be either one of two kinds. It may be a more or less emotional retreat

¹⁰ The problems of adjusting to deafness that becomes serious in later life, especially deafness whose onset is gradual, is different in some respects from that of the group that we have studied. At the same time there is naturally much in common between the two. Dr. Gordon Berry's papers (5 and 6) offer one of the most detailed analyses of the situation in progressive deafness and give an introduction to the literature about it.

¹¹ Davis, in an unpublished paper which contains interesting material based on interviews with pupils and teachers of schools for the deaf, discusses the effect of failure on the phantasy life of the deaf child. (12, p. 8 ff.)

from everything related to the situation, a blind escape from something one is afraid of. Or it may be a rationally controlled adjustment of the level of aspiration to the objective situation. In rational withdrawal the person has resigned himself to the fact that certain goals are inaccessible and forces belonging to these goals no longer affect him. In emotional withdrawal failure to reach the goal served only to endow the goal region with a negative valence¹² and to transform it into an "area of insecurity" (Murphy, 23, p. 299). The original positive valence of the goal probably still exists. Thus a state of tension is set up.

Comments that show withdrawal of the emotional type may indicate a general fear of conversing with people, of contacts, and a dislike of being with people.

15 (f): . . . grew a little shy . . . afraid to speak my mind.

51 (m): Reaction to knowledge of deafness: I was shy, did not like to be with people who could talk.

61 (f): As a child I feared most conversing with others.

92 (?): . . . didn't play with hearing children after becoming deaf. I used to watch some children playing but didn't have the feeling of wanting to play with them.

I take fright sometimes because I have been told that I make people nervous with my unnatural speech which I ought not to take so hard. I am very slow in making friends after many experiences in the past.

22 (f): I was too ill at first to mind my deafness and later when I began to feel better, the nurses were so nice to me that I did not mind very much. I was afraid to go out and play with the children afterwards though, but I cannot say just why . . . but gradually I overcame my shyness and joined them again. It was not quite the same however. . . . I never became really intimate with them (hearing children) as I found much more pleasure in reading. I have my own desires and thoughts which I never share with my brothers and sisters.

28 (f): Played with a few hearing children, no special difficulties, but: There were other children with whom I might have played at all times. I was with my mother and sister most of the time.

29 (m): As a child: Games were too boisterous and "Did not know what to talk with them about unless they conducted the conversations."

51 (m): I knew I was deaf when I went to the deaf school. I was shy, did not like to be with people that could talk.

¹² Cf. the discussion of conflict situations in Lewin (18).

53 (m): Due to the long contact with the deaf children during the months in school when summer came I was always too shy to mix with the hearing children until they called me to go with them.

55 (m): I rarely played with hearing children before I went to the school for the deaf. I was nearly always led by my mother wherever she went. After going to school for a few years I began to play with hearing children during my vacations. . . . I was shy of hearing people because I was different from them and I could not talk. (Later spends most of time with hearing, talks.) When he was with hearing children had frequent difficulties: I only followed what they did, but I did not understand what they were doing or saying.

57 (f): . . . I frequently worked there as chocolate dipper. . . . The forelady tried to persuade me to get some more deaf girls so she would have me as forelady but I refused because of my deafness.

Now I do not talk to hearing people for I was told, after we read the daily paper about a man buried alive, that my voice was as though it was out of the grave. They made fun of me so I never speak except to my children.

74 (f): . . . I have wished . . . that I was less timid about meeting hearing people halfway.

80 (f): I miss the social life of the community more than anything else. I do not go to church because I can not hear the minister and I do not attend many of the social gatherings. I feel embarrassed when in a mixed group of people with whom I am not well acquainted.

82 (?): I was afraid of meeting strangers. It affected my speech.

84 (f): . . . so often I was left out of everything on account of deafness. I never learned to put myself forward.

90 (f): When I was about thirteen I realized I could not hear very good and I began to feel conscious of the fact (loss began at three or four years) and dreaded to be among strangers or in a place where attention would be drawn to it. I was or had been getting along nicely in school but this fear hindered rather than helped my desire to enter high school . . . entered school for the deaf.

I have several drawbacks which I wish I could overcome but up to this late date I have not succeeded. One is that I hesitate to go ahead for fear of not being as successful as I would like to be. I have to be urged on time and time again before I have any faith in myself to go ahead and make an attempt on whatever I intended to undertake. I suppose

it is still that fear that the first thing to be said in case of failure—"Well, what can you expect of a person who can't hear."

We find that by letting other people alone and living our own lives the best we know how we manage to enjoy ourselves. (Joins in community clubs and activities, tries to be a contributing member as far as ideas and work go.)

8 (f): When I became older I began to fear talking with outside people as I began to realize that I did not talk the same as normal people. This self-consciousness was brought about by my sister who kept correcting my speech and telling me to be quiet.

A (f): Now I realize that it was only thoughtless ignorance on their part, but it made me rebellious and feel frustrated. From experience I learned that hearing people become irritated by the deaf talking to them. Better say nothing, hold back, study each person, then make your approach gradually feeling your way along. Perhaps because of this I have feigned an indifferent manner.

In some cases the specific fear of not being able to understand others or to make themselves understood is emphasized by the writer.

62 (m): I was afraid to meet people for fear they would talk to me as I could never understand what they were saying. I still do not like to meet people.

22 (f): When I became deaf I worried for fear people would not understand me nor me them. I did not want people to know I was deaf.

33 (m): At times, I do have a desire to "mix" with hearing people, but the thought that I will not be able to understand them always crops up in my mind.

35 (m): . . . I purposely avoided these friends as it was getting rather embarrassing to keep asking "what's that?"

38 (f): I did take up beauty culture but never used it to earn money as I was always afraid I wouldn't understand the customer.

55 (m): I was shy of hearing people because I was different from them and I could not talk. My worry was that I was unable to express anything as I did not know how to talk. My feelings were hurt because I was not like normal children.

7 (m): It seems to me that many deaf people are retiring because they get an inferiority complex from not being able to make themselves understood to strangers.

17 (m): The ever-present problem of not being understood occasionally by strangers, and of not understanding some strangers. . . . In my conversation I usually confine myself to short answers and seldom tell jokes as my hearing friends do. It is hard for me sometimes to get the point of a story.

One hears a great deal about the suspiciousness of the deaf. Certainly the circumstances in which they are placed by their handicap are often such as to make them feel justified in wondering about attitudes of other people which a hearing person would take for granted. While our letters often express direct resentment at the behavior and attitudes of hearing people, both from the social and from the economic point of view, rather few indicate the insecurity and distrust that we think of as in connection with suspicion. The following are examples that definitely involve this attitude:

35 (m): The only thing I can recall that ever made me angry was when I was beaten in a particular game. I always thought that I was cheated.

69 (f): My parents always tried to shelter and protect me. But many times I thought strangers were ridiculing me and this has always left its mark. I study people even now to make certain they are sincere before I become friendly.

When I would be crossed by anyone and I couldn't always understand that they wanted me to do things for my own good (became angry). I would feel that they were taking advantage of my condition and forcing me to do what they wanted without consideration for my personal feeling.

In another case the charge of suspiciousness brought by one of the writers in regard to deaf acquaintances:

98 (f): When there is a bunch of deaf people with me and I talk with a hearing person, the deaf people suspect that I am talking about them. They ask me what I talked about.

One might also think that it is implied in comments like the following:

28 (f): Would I make new hearing friends who would sincerely want me to be with them?

25 (f): . . . I have a great many hearing (friends). If I'm a handicap to them they never let me know it!

8 (f): . . . I do not do a lot of talking . . . with those (hearing people) I have only met once or twice.

90 (f): We try not to feel that people are criticising us—when they appear to be talking about us—but may be trying to devise ways and means to help us out which we find later on to be the case.

There is nothing I detest more than being considered a bore. Whether we are or not is to be discovered. It has never been manifested in any way up to the present.

Being in a small community we find that it pays to be interested in politics and so far nothing has ever been put over on us.

In evaluating such comments one must allow for the fact that every deaf person with any objective survey of his own situation must realize that in social relations with hearing people he is at a disadvantage. He will usually succeed in making real contacts only insofar as he proceeds slowly and feels out the reactions of the other person as he goes. The degree of caution implied in the quotations given above, even of 90, may easily be a matter of tact and intelligence in meeting the situation rather than suspiciousness in the derogatory sense in which we use the word.

In contrast to this emotional withdrawal we find other cases which are of a more rational type. One of the difficulties in making this kind of adjustment is the fact that in some respects, especially in its effect on social intercourse, deafness is not a clearly defined handicap. A deaf man can attend social gatherings, he can take some part in them. It is hard for him to admit that he cannot join fully in the conversation of a group of hearing people, just because it is not entirely impossible for him to do so. One hears accounts of deaf people who are so adept at lip-reading and who speak so well that strangers hardly notice their deafness. And every deaf person who understands some parts of a general conversation is led on to wish that he could understand more. It is often very hard for the deaf person to come to a clear decision and say to himself, "I can go only so far in my aspirations. I renounce everything that is beyond." This aspect of the problem may be especially important when some traces of hearing remain. One of our correspondents wrote in regard to partial deafness:

33 (m): . . . I have resigned myself to my condition. But at times I have a desire to be either totally deaf or able to hear again.

The following quotations illustrate cases of rational withdrawal in which the deaf person deliberately tries to limit his desires to his abilities:

8 (f): I have noticed that many deaf people insist upon doing the shopping themselves when they are with a hearing person to show their independence. It is always very embarrassing to have a deaf person who

cannot talk very well order things when there is a hearing person around to help with the talking. In many cases the sales clerks don't understand the deaf person and the hearing person has to come to the rescue.

. . . I am quite used to mixing with them (hearing people) and am accepted wherever I go. (I do not do a lot of talking though, with those I have only met once or twice.)

21 (f): Quotes advice given in school which she accepts for herself: She gave us good advice which I have always carried with me after leaving school. She told us not to talk too much to hearing people and always to ask intelligent questions so that the hearing people would talk to us. In my experience I have learned to be a good listener and to try to find out what interests the hearing person most. Then I ask questions or show something that I made or received and if they are interested they almost always talk.

47 (m): . . . an intelligent deaf person is content to be alone and is too sensitive to intrude where he is out of place.

61 (f): Speech and lip-reading was a special problem with me, but I have learned to confine its use to those who are acquainted with my handicap. It saves me a lot of misunderstanding and avoids many an embarrassing situation.

74 (f): I never had much trouble to get along with hearing children. I was satisfied to play with only a few and with the same ones I played happily every summer.

In many letters we find the importance of a sense of humor and a philosophy of life stressed as aspects of rational adjustment and the dangers of emotional withdrawal pointed out. Emotional withdrawal involves much more than a mere avoidance of contacts and experiences. It is accompanied by a definite ego feeling of inferiority and sensitiveness. To many people this feeling in itself is felt as a danger; it serves to create further difficulties and further retreat from other people and so is part of a vicious circle which in its effects goes far beyond the objective difficulties with which it began.¹³

2 (m): I have always felt that any success in my personal and social life is due in a very large measure to my entire lack of sensitiveness about my handicap. My friends have said repeatedly how thoroughly they appreciate this fact and how much it has helped them in their association with me.

¹³ In regard to the importance of self-esteem and security feelings see Maslow (21) and Young (36).

7 (m): I find it much easier on my nervous system not to worry . . . about thoughtless inattentions from playmates . . . failure to include me in some scheme or other. This hurt a bit at first, but I have learned not to expect too much from people, and have become more philosophical.

8 (f): . . . I have learned to have more patience, and I have realized that life has many viewpoints.

29 (m): . . . I used to feel hurt whenever friends did not recognize me . . . but now all these flow over me like water over a duck's back, as a result of my education . . . like to do things alone . . . being inside of my shell with the myriad of problems.

15 (f): I think it is very important that each girl or boy—man or woman should learn to solve the problems that face them. I think everyone should learn philosophy to help them face truth without feeling hurt. I believe that experience is the best teacher. . . . I think it is important for my personal and social life at present to do what I really can do and *not to do* what I *cannot* do.

25 (f): Anyway I was always able to find something funny in almost anything, and a sense of humor is a big help.

63 (m): I hated to be laughed at, although I have since developed a sense of humor, I hope. Sometimes, by misunderstanding what was said to me, I have drawn laughter, but I have learned to take it good naturedly and laugh with the others.

93 (f): I would say it is tremendously important to have faith in the future, to educate oneself in a specific line of work, to persevere and not to be discouraged.

94 (m): I think ones disposition is a factor, if you like and trust everybody they will do the same with you, but will walk on you a little, too.

46 (f): I always thought I was the only one in the world who was deaf. . . . I worried about my misfortune and worried long and hard and was growing very bitter and resentful . . . until I met other deaf persons. I was fifteen years old. Then I saw others worse off and I grew to be very sorry for them. . . . I became of much use to the deaf who were not as well educated as I was.

Closely related are comments from the hard-of-hearing:

Baldwin (4, p. 735): . . . the first effort of the deaf person must be to find and establish for himself a new philosophy of life . . . a new living basis must be set up.

Baldwin (3, p. 492): . . . I have sought to stress the psychology of deafness because some grasp of it helps the deaf person to preserve his personality. It sets him right. It gives him back himself in the midst of lost things. He reclaims the poise and force of character so rudely shaken. Pierce (26, p. 357): As philosophers the deaf are as a class unparalleled . . . to it may be layed the explanation of their amazing cheerfulness and adaptability.

Anon (2, p. 377 and 379): A deaf man's policy should be to keep his spirit as straight and supple as he can.

The deaf are more subject to irritation. . . . A lot of things make them cross. . . . But philosophy should be the deaf man's strong point. He must be absolutely good-humored—as no deaf man is—absolutely patient and resolute in refusing to be irritated by what he can't help.

Curtis (11, p. 812): Another thing that I do (and it was not easy at first) is to laugh at jokes on the deaf. There are scores of them—millions I actually believe. No one ever thinks of telling a joke on a blind man. . . . They used to make me unhappy. . . . Now I often tell such a joke myself.

2. *Active adjustment.* Some of the deaf react to their limitations by doing something to help bridge the gap created by their handicap, rather than by accepting the situation and withdrawing from the difficulties that present themselves. For some this kind of adjustment means fighting directly against the barrier imposed by their handicap, a refusal to recognize their limitations, and an attempt to overcome them by force. Examples of this attitude are the following:

41 (f): The hardest problem I have met in my after-school life is getting work. But I have managed that problem fairly well. This is how I did it. I wouldn't take "no" for an answer. I simply bawled them out and showed them that I had a backbone and asked for a try-out: if they were satisfied they could keep me, if not let me go. Now I have got such a reputation that everybody seems to want me to work for them, as they have found out that I am a good and outstanding worker. Some think better than the hearing girls.

The deaf should know just what they should do and should not do in their line of work. For instance in housework they should not clean and polish shoes, only for little children but not for grownups. I was asked to clean mud off a 16-year-old boy's shoes. I said it is impolite to ask ladies to clean men's shoes. The lady said, "I know but I didn't

think you felt that way." I said, "Oh, you mean you didn't think I knew that much."

76 (m): When I sought a job at a factory the superintendent said he never had a deaf mute in his employ. I told him to try me and if he was not satisfied with my work to fire me. He took me in; two weeks later I got a raise.

. . . the determination to show what I could do in spite of my deafness when seeking employment (has helped me).

8r (?): All I asked for was a chance to prove my worth . . . people do not realize that a deaf person can do anything that a normal person does except use a telephone or fly an airplane.

88 (f): What hurts me the most is whenever I see anybody say, "Too bad, she is deaf and dumb." I made up my mind that I would be capable to do anything after I get through with my schooling.

Among the forms of active adjustment we find again a more rational attitude. As one of our correspondents said (*Cf.* 15, p. 107): "I think it is important for my personal and social life to do what I really can do and *not to do* what I *cannot* do." The second part of this statement concerns rational withdrawal; but the first part deals with active adjustment on a rational basis. It implies studying the situation with its limitations; investigating the limiting barriers and trying to find the points at which they can be surmounted; studying to see whether there are not attractive places within the region that is immediately accessible. Insofar as part of the barrier is felt to be the attitude of hearing people, "educating" the hearing or showing them what the deaf can really do is felt as a necessary step. In this case the fight is not so much a general one against the situation as a whole; it is a fight against the stereotype adopted by the hearing in regard to the deaf.

31 (m): Problem: Of educating the ignorant public of the capacity of the deaf to do good work provided they are given a halfway decent chance to prove it. *The problem* of educating the public to understand the deaf, minus the pity; to have a comprehensive knowledge of the inferiority complex that many have—the backwardness and self-consciousness that is always a perpetual hindrance to their economic security. The training of the public in influential positions to understand that the deaf are physically fit to do good work, . . . provided they are given fair wages, some consideration as fellow workers, and half a chance to show their loyalty by sturdy endeavor.

32 (m): I think a deaf person should try to get about more often than some I know. That I believe would not only help himself but would give an example of what and how a deaf person can do.

I try to show many hearing boys what deaf people can do by showing them and not just talking. This has helped me make hearing friends.

28 (f): Wish: To succeed in several fields and be a well-known person mainly for the sake of my family and ——— School and to show that a well-educated deaf person can do as much as a hearing one.

42 (f): My most special problem has been to show that there is little or no difference between my ability and that of a hearing person . . . that my capacity for learning is just as great. . . . To give me the same chance to show what I can do as they would give a hearing person. . . .

49 (f): Problem: Most of all try to make the hearing people understand the ways of the deaf.

81 (?): The greatest problem is to have the deaf better understood by the general public. (Mentions legal discrimination: drivers' licenses and compensation.)

96 (m): Economical problems—which were partly solved by high specialization of trade but during the depression I find that the hearing people must be educated to the problems of the deaf, namely that they are not so dumb as some hearing are! In other words it is ignorance on the part of certain employers.

29 (m): I find it a *great* help to have a good lip-reading deaf friend around once in a while for exhibition in a quiet way. Many of the hearing people have remarked to me of their wonder at how we could converse with each other without using hand signs. As a result their frigidity towards us would disappear. . . . The article on "Brushing Up on Speech" also helps in making them understand better as regards my speech.

Boss . . . exhibits utter ignorance of favorable conditions for lip-reading and the psychology of the congenital-deaf man. My past experience with others places him with the type of men who dislike to be advised by their subordinates as regards their parts in the problem of the latter. Hence my refraining from telling him. However I am planning to have the problem solved, I hope, by having an outsider who understands do the "dirty work" for me.

Another form of active adjustment places the responsibility more on the deaf themselves. The problem is, to a certain extent: what can the deaf

do to make the approach easier from the point of view of the hearing? Some discuss general techniques for making contacts and for gaining self-confidence. They emphasize the importance of taking an active part in each situation that arises, of being ready to contribute something to the life of the group with which they are associated. In many cases the development of special skills so that the deaf person is able to do some one thing, at least, better than others is a means of making contacts on equal terms with the hearing.

8 (f): Usually when they (the deaf) are talking they go into too much detail. This is what I have to watch myself when I talk with hearing people. I have noticed that my sister does not like to have me tell her anything about my happenings and I have found out that it is because I went into too much detail, so I do not talk to her much unless she asks me about something and seems inclined to listen. However, office associates do not seem to tire of listening to me when I want to talk. They seem to be very much interested and it is so nice to have them talk with me and exchange thoughts.

21 (f): In my experience I have learned to be a good listener and to try to find out what interests the hearing person most. Then I ask questions or show something that I made or received and if they are interested, they almost always talk. The best illustration for this can be found in "You Won't Be Snubbed" in the December 1935 Readers' Digest. I believe it will help deaf people to meet hearing people half way. Self-confidence is most important along with good social training and speech kept at the right pitch. To know how to play bridge and serve tea is helpful. I studied palmistry some years ago, and every party I went to, guests clamored to have me tell them their fortunes. It is really fun.

32 (m): Another thing is when a hearing person starts to talk about something, say politics, and I think he said something wrong I try to say what I think is right and if I am wrong or right this is all right because that too helps me get in on the talk of things instead of just reading the papers.

31 (m): . . . I was able to overcome a growing feeling of self-consciousness. . . . How this came about? (At Gallaudet) I was a football player on the college team . . . acted as interpreter. As wrestling manager, I had to meet other managers from other colleges, and this lead to more contacts . . . etc.

1 (m): Sports had a lot to do with my contact with hearing people (he has few deaf contacts) . . . met high school football coach . . .

made team—from then on my contact with hearing people grew. However my social life did not begin until I was a frosh at college . . . became active in a fraternity. . . . In college I acquired a lot of cronies, girls and boys both. Partook in pranks. Made the college football team. . . . I think it wise to try to attain social prestige, and once attained one will have little trouble in making friends. Fraternity life was a big factor in my life and football and other sports another. I think it wise to keep up the social life after getting through college. . . .

18 (f): Joining the Woman's Club, the Ladies Aid, and the Rebekahs helped me a lot in associating with hearing people. (Lives where there are no other deaf people. Aunt and father take her out with them. Would like deaf associates.)

25 (f): I always played with children much younger than I, partly because when children my own age were playing active games I wasn't strong enough, but principally because I could feel a little superior to those youngsters. My imagination was good and they liked the games I planned, and so rather looked up to me. Naturally I knew this. I've never regretted it.

29 (m): . . . Since they do not bother to talk with us, it is up to us to be on the initiative.

39 (f): I have found that my determination to mix with both hearing and deaf people as much as possible has given me a much more encouraging outlook.

90 (f): We try to do what is given us the best we can with a few added efforts which we find pay in the long run. . . . We make it a point to help all we can to make meetings a success and try to go forward and help entertain so that it may not be considered one-sided on our part. Being in a small community we find it pays to be interested in politics and so far nothing has ever been put over on us. . . . If a report comes out that such and such a thing is to be done, we don't take it for granted it is true, until we have inquired of several people. . . .

It is trying sometimes to sit back and not be able to hear everything but when that happens I try to keep my mind occupied with something that may turn out later to be of use to the club, such as planning a party or thinking of some scheme to raise money. . . .

32 (m): I got along quite well . . . partly because I was a good marble shooter.

17 (m): I have found interest in sports most helpful in making new friends.

46 (f): No difficulties whatever (with other children). I beat them running, climbing, jumping, at nearly all games.

72 (m): Difficulties with hearing children: only in games that required the use of hearing. I got along well in races, shooting marbles, etc.

94 (m): Never felt left out of things to any great extent because I could play most of the games and later learned to dance and play cards.

Similar is an emphasis on general development to help meet the odds that have to be faced. Some speak of the importance of reading in order to make themselves more facile in new situations, especially situations that involve contacts with hearing people. Others speak of special vocational training as help in compensating for their handicap.

71 (f): Another thing I owe much, is reading and what a voracious reader I was, it educated me! . . . as a child I had no imagination—how could I when there was nothing in my mind to furnish material for imagination, only from what I observed around me and much of it was mysterious. I couldn't understand why everything was so. . . . Later when reading became available it furnished me with things to imagine. How I loved fairy stories. They were so impossible, things happened which did not happen in school.

7 (m): . . . I believe that a large fund of general knowledge is indispensable to any deaf person. To the groundwork laid at school, I have added constantly by omnivorous and thorough reading of daily newspapers and current magazines. Lip-reading is in a large part guesswork, and the better guesser a person is the better lip-reader he is apt to be.

74 (f): . . . as for "learning more" I get it from hearing company and also from reading books.

75 (m): As a rule I read the plays before attending the productions. Same with the talkies. I get a screen script and study it in order to understand and enjoy the pictures. I must admit that it seems strange that I have improved in lip-reading due to watching the players' lips closely.

76 (m): The use of correct English and knowledge of trade are the most important things that have helped me in my personal life.

84 (f): Too much stress can not be laid on the subject "Reading." Too few deaf people read enough to make up for the loss of hearing. Teach the young deaf a love of reading that will stick through life.

96 (m): I think that acquiring a good deal of language and special industrial training has been important for my personal and social life.

Some call attention to the need for better social training for the deaf, so that they may be sure of what is expected of them in each situation, of what other people do.

71 (f): . . . what hurt me—I don't seem able to get things without being squelched. . . . I concluded I wasn't good enough or what was it? Of course I learned not to ask, but again and again I would forget and get snubbed—I think that is universal with deaf people, just because they are deaf so couldn't know that it isn't done. That's why I reiterate they should be thrown with hearing people earlier in life and so make their adjustments.

32 (m): I believe that the teachers in school should pay more attention to the pupils' future life and explain to them how to go about getting a job. That problem was the noise I had to face because I had no one to turn to to give me advice. They did not seem to realize that I could not just say, "I want a job."

Others speak of the compensations that they have adopted to supply the needs created by social isolation. Reading is mentioned again in this connection, and more frequently than anything else.

22 (f): I was usually watching them or tagging along. I found more pleasure in books, which I think saved me from being lonely many times. . . . I never became really intimate with them (hearing associates) as I found much more pleasure in reading.

44 (m): Probably the most important thing was my education. Had I not attended school I would probably be unable to read. . . . I enjoy reading good books and without an education I would just sit and whittle.

50 (f): There is one thing I am very thankful for—that I can read—as it gives me a lot of pleasure.

74 (f): One of the greatest blessings of my life is my love for reading books as it has helped make my life more endurable.

92 (?): I read a lot to pass the time. (Feels that he is not so close to other people as those who hear.)

94 (m): . . . I played with the other normal boys and girls in the neighborhood in a natural way and if I couldn't I was inclined to read a good deal.

97 (f): It came to me then that I was different—that I was deaf and therefore could not be with other children. This drove me to books which I preferred to dolls and other playthings.

Others also speak of meeting the problem in their own way:

29 (m): My life differs from theirs (hearing brothers and sisters) in this—that I do not seem to mind being alone, like to do things alone.

22 (f): As a result of my deafness I have learned to appreciate the finer things in life and to have higher ideals.

In some cases the active adjustment takes the form of doing something which provides not only an outlet to one's energies but also which seems to symbolize to some extent the freedom of the normal person. Two speak of driving in this sense.

A (f): My escape from that sense of isolation, uncertainty, and exclusion was by way of the automobile. After I was twenty-four and engaged in work . . . I still felt bound to an unwelcoming world. Resolutely one day I walked into an auto store and bought a car. I was scared but got a driver's license before the family knew of my bold act. . . . It was my only salvation. It was my deliverance from a dependent, guarded, sheltered, shut-in group. The family was very upset, especially father, until a man . . . told him of his hard-of-hearing sister's driving a car. Then he ceased his protest. Now I am my own mistress.

C (f): . . . bought the motor car I had been planning for two years to get. I knew it would anchor me, yet give me freedom. . . . I have driven to ——— visiting and am back with no mishaps. I feel so free, so competent.

3. *Success of the adjustment: The life tone of the individual.* In the previous section we have discussed adjustments of different kinds, what different persons do in order to meet the situation created by the handicap of deafness. In some cases this involved only a retreat from the whole situation, in others it involved more effective action within the situation. The question naturally arises: to what extent do our correspondents feel that they have been successful in their adjustments? A large group express themselves as satisfied with their lives as they find them. They accept the advantages and disadvantages of their situation.

33 (m): . . . I have resigned myself to my condition. At times, I have a desire to be either totally deaf or able to hear completely, but with increasing years my wish has been more toward stone deaf, for the simple reason that I can concentrate on my tasks more so.

37 (m): No special problems . . . would like to be able to earn more money but I guess that is everyone's cry—We . . . are very happy.

38 (f): . . . am very happy.

7 (m): This hurt a bit at first (not being included in schemes of others) but I have learned not to expect too much of people, and have become increasingly philosophical.

Naturally I have often wished violently for my hearing, but have become used to being deaf, and since there are a few distinct advantages accruing from my deafness, such as being able to study without being bothered by the blaring radios and conversation, I do not mind it at all. . . . Right now, my greatest wish is that I might find permanent economic stability. I suppose there are many other people wishing the same thing.

8 (f): Faces limitations but: I do notice that many people waste a lot of sympathy on me when they hear of my handicap. They do not know how contented and happy I am.

39 (f): The full significance (of her deafness) did not come to me until after I went to school and realized the many things that were done for me by my parents and the teachers and how different my life was from that of my brothers who attended the hearing schools. I never felt badly because of my lack of hearing.

45 (f): I didn't know I was deaf until I entered our school. I found out that I am deaf. It made me feel bad, but I still keep up my chin.

50 (f): . . . I am equal (to hearing brothers and sisters) about my work, social life, and pleasures. (Has less good job.)

11 (m): I get along fine. I mix with different groups of people and play basketball on different teams, go to church, and don't feel a bit embarrassed before anyone.

58 (m): I was always happy and this knowledge (of deafness) did not affect me.

66 (f): As a child was afraid of other deaf children when she first saw their funny and wild signs . . . worried about deafness . . . wondered why brothers and sisters could talk and not she.

Later: . . . graduated from school . . . was housekeeper for father . . . after his death went into a factory: I work good and nice at the factory. I am satisfied with my deafness and education. I can go with deaf and hearing people anyhow. . . .

I am glad that I can work and travel by myself.

68 (m): My work is satisfactory, problems few.

69 (f): I have learned to face life and take its knocks and happiness alike.

75 (m): I have a sister and two brothers. In my early life I was five years behind them in education but since leaving school I have reached the same plane as they and am now well-equipped mentally to enjoy life.

85 (m): My married life has been a very pleasant one for me. We have always been happy and contented in spite of our deafness.

90 (f): (If you make allowances . . . take care . . . etc.) you will find that there are a lot of pleasures in store for you even although you may be handicapped by being deaf.

94 (m): Did not fight my deafness much or let it worry me. . . . Always had been made to feel that I would get along all right in the world. (More worried about that now!) Job, marriage, etc.

In many cases the deafness has actually given the child something that his hearing brothers and sisters lacked. It put him into a school which became his home for the greater part of the year and in some cases that school, both in its standard of living and in social and cultural aspects of life, had more to offer than the home where the brothers and sisters remained. He was given opportunities for development that were not offered to his hearing brothers and sisters. In some cases, too, he was allowed to remain in school for several years after the others had had to go to work to contribute to the support of the family. In these cases, the deaf child, despite his handicap, was sent into the world with a broader background and better general education than the other members of his own family. That his attainments were not always of direct economic value did not alter the fact that he felt, and justly, that he was in some ways superior to the hearing people about him.

36 (f): (Two sisters and one brother who hear). I am told that I am better educated on etiquette and the zeal to work and do things myself and be more independent whereas my sister and brother are accustomed to the home and depend on our mother and father to do all the chores for them. That's what my school taught me.

71 (f): Outside of this (not going to the same school) my life was no different from theirs. It was later that we began to be different. I was more ambitious than they were, even graduated from high school when neither of them did. I aimed higher than they did, loved beauty, fine things, refinement, etc., while they remained stationary, satisfied with life, they are typical ———ers while I am more cosmopolitan in my choice of friends and interests, so our ways diverged and they never really understood me. So I always feel that it is all by myself that I

forged ahead and I am thankful for that, for it is adversity, opposition, inferiority complexes, etc., that made me fiercely want to better myself.

22 (f): I don't think I ever wished most for my hearing, although there have been times when I have wished for it. But on the other hand, I think that as a result of my deafness I have learned to appreciate the finer things of life and to have higher ideals.

Life different from that of brothers and sisters: . . . because I spent the greatest part of my childhood at school, in an environment of culture, learning, and good breeding. I found it difficult when I went home for my vacations to re-adjust myself to their way of living. . . . Even now, I have my own desires and thoughts which I never share with them even though I am very fond of them. I don't believe they ever realized how the change from the life at school where everything was done by routine to the harum-scarum life of a bustling family affected me.

42 (f): I have one hearing sister and I can honestly say that my life has been much more enjoyable in a social way, financially, and domestically than hers.

67 (?): My life has differed from the lives of my brothers and sisters in the matter of personal education. They worked. I read all the time.

73 (m): I have several hearing brothers and sisters. I cannot say that my life has been much different from theirs except that they had to start to earn their living sooner than I had to. It was my privilege to be able to remain in school until I had reached the high school grades.

76 (m): I had more advantages educationally than they (brothers and sisters who heard) and seem to be as well off financially, if not a little more so.

90 (f): . . . I do think that if you make up your mind that you are going out and intend to make hearing friends and enjoy them there is nothing easier provided you remember they may not have had the careful, thorough and honest to goodness training that deaf children receive in the school which they attend and make allowances for it.

97 (f): In the end, I had a better education (than her brother and sister), going through high school and a hearing university while both my brother and sister left grammar school to earn their living. (Family broken up by death of parents, deaf child a state ward.)

Somewhat different from this attitude of looking upon the situation as a whole and taking into account the objective advantages involved in their

own life situation is one which tries to find in the deafness itself an advantage. On the whole it is an attempt to say that what is behind the barrier is not worth while and that one would choose to remain where one is under any circumstances. It may be granted that a few persons with unusual inner resources feel, as Thomas Edison is said to have done, that deafness is a blessing in giving them greater opportunity to carry on their own work. But certainly, in most people, such an attitude represents a failure to acknowledge the situation in which they live. The following examples are of this type:

44 (m): . . . wanted to hear so as to get a better job, but, ". . . at times I do not wish to be able to hear as I miss most of the unpleasant things some people say."

94 (m): Instead of feeling sorry for myself because I couldn't hear I would take the attitude that I wasn't missing much or I could get it in a book anyway.

79 (m): . . . the fact that I was not disturbed by noises in classrooms helped my power of concentration. (Successful in studying electrical engineering.)

83 (m): I recall that I was quick learner before losing hearing; deafness brought less *qui vive* response, but gave me more time for uninterrupted meditation.

In contrast to those who, whatever their particular grievances, accept life as it has come to them, are those who openly rebel at the situation imposed by their handicap. It is very interesting, however, how few express this attitude or even imply it in answer to questions like the one, "What have you most wished for?" Brunschwig also mentions this in her study. Apparently the handicap is accepted by most of them as something beyond the possibility of being affected in any way by their wishes and their protests are, in most cases, limited to certain specific results of it. The following examples, however, show instances in which the attitude is one of rebellion against the deafness itself.

51 (m): I wish to hear like other people. (Says he would have been foreman on his job if he heard . . . needs more money for family.)

52 (m): My hearing restored was my earnest wish. I have brothers and sisters, those hearing brothers and sisters always expecting the most favors, and more leisure, than their unfortunate brother, most deaf are slaves.

61 (f): Wished day in and day out to regain my hearing.

62 (m): I have always wished I could hear.

69 (f): . . . tried to go to public school and then I became very conscious of it. I felt the difference very keenly and felt badly about it. But it was something that couldn't be helped.

I never really worried much about anything only perhaps to wish that I were normal like others.

80 (f): My one wish has always been that the time would come when I might be able to hear. (Deaf from early childhood.)

98 (f): I have most wished that I could have one hundred per cent hearing so I would get along well with the people. I have missed many things because I could not hear well.

e. The Deaf as a Minority Group; Their Relations to Other Groups:

From these statements about the situation in which the deaf person lives and of his adjustment to it one fact becomes clear: difficulties arise not so much because the deaf are deaf as because other people hear. For the most part the deaf live as members of a minority group within a social world in which the majority of people hear and the frustrations and difficulties involved in deafness are largely those created by the adjustment between the majority that has more and the minority which has less.

One possible solution of the problems would be for the minority to isolate itself from the larger group. Brunschwig says (9, p. 27): "The tendency of the deaf to confine their associations as far as possible to the deaf only is regarded as one method of solving the difficulties. . . ." There are localized groups of deaf for whom these problems may have been reduced to a minimum by the fact that they live almost entirely among people of their own kind. How far such a degree of isolation is possible, depends, obviously, on the existence of favorable economic conditions. Only where some industrial organization exists that limits its employment, for certain kinds of work at least, to the deaf can they lead a life that is independent of the hearing in its everyday course. On the other hand, in every city of fair size there are enough deaf people so that they can remain within groups of their own for the major part of their social life. Within such groups one finds that communication is usually by some form of manual system, signs, finger spelling, or a combination of the two. For the people who confine their social life to such groups the strain of adjustment may often be less. One of our writers, who herself does not want to belong to such a group speaks of those who do:

54 (f): However, I take off my hat to the deaf mutes in their attitude towards life. No discontent there! They have a glorious time of it, and never try to mix with people who may not want them.

They accept their social isolation as a fact and do not worry a bit about it.

Nevertheless, even within such a group, the deaf person is apt to be aware of his status as a member of a smaller, and often economically less prosperous group than that to which even other members of his own family belong. His group is an ingrowing one with definite limitations. In many cases the deaf person chooses to feel that he is part of the majority group in spite of the frustrations that this choice may bring. And it is probable that under ordinary circumstances the average deaf person never comes to live wholly outside the larger social group into which members of his immediate family and business relationships draw him to some extent. Certainly in our letters, some of those who said that their social relationships were almost entirely among the deaf were most keenly aware of their position in relation to the hearing. So for the average deaf person, one must assume that the tensions involved in the situation as our letters describe it are more or less fully operative.

At the same time it is interesting to see what the deaf themselves say of the different groups with whom they come into contact and especially about the reasons why they prefer to associate with one group or another. Those who say that they prefer to be with hearing people may do so simply because they learn more from them than from the deaf; still others give a more abstract reason: they want to be with the hearing in order to keep themselves as "normal" as possible. They wish to be like the majority group because it represents the social norm, not because of its intrinsic characteristics.

With those who prefer to make their social contacts among the deaf one may distinguish between those who do so of necessity, that is those who are so limited in their means of communication that they have no possibility of getting on with hearing people, and those who are more or less free to choose with whom they shall associate. For some the hard-of-hearing represent an intermediate group, one which has the broader outlook of the hearing but which is subject to many of the same limitations as the deaf.

One may classify the quotations that have bearing on these choices under four main headings, although there is actually a great deal of overlapping. Some emphasize the advantages of associating with the deaf and disadvantages of associating with the hearing; a second group speak of the

desirability of associating with the hearing and disadvantages of being with the deaf. In other comments we find a more objective evaluation of the deaf which is often made quite apart from the personal social preferences of the writer: persons who definitely prefer to associate with the deaf call attention to certain of their characteristics which they consider undesirable. In a fourth section are comments on the hard-of-hearing.

The quotations reflecting these different attitudes are given below. They are grouped roughly according to the reasons given for the preference that is expressed.

1. Advantages of associating with the deaf; disadvantages of associating with the hearing. Some feel that they have greater social satisfaction from their contacts with the deaf.

31 (m): Has hearing contacts but ". . . working with the deaf and the old . . . friends in the metropolitan area, I find I enjoy a better social group."

36 (f): Contact with hearing improves English but "the deaf tend to make my evenings and week-ends happy hours."

54 (f): ". . . clubs should be encouraged. I do not approve of it in some ways but it does a great deal of good in giving the lonely deaf person who never could mix with hearing anyway a club to belong to and that is a pleasure in his life."

49 (f): I spend most of my time with hearing people as I am employed with them. I visit with the deaf whenever I get a chance as I enjoy them much more.

18 (f): Since I graduated . . . I have made more contacts with hearing people than with deaf people as where I live there are no deaf people. If I had stayed in a big city I would have associated more with deaf people. . . . I think it is natural for the deaf to be with the deaf.

67 (?): Since leaving school I have made contacts with the deaf and hearing alike. I seem to get along with the deaf much better, although I am at present overcoming the difficulties I have had with hearing people—by not appearing to be so intellectual. They never like it.

74 (f): Speaks of the advantages of being with the hearing (*Cf. p. 125*) "but . . . I am never keen on being in a hearing crowd. . . . Naturally I feel more at home with deaf people."

Some prefer to be with the deaf because communication is easier with them. This preference assumes the use of signs or spelling.

50 (f): I enjoy communication with deaf people more than hearing people especially at church, socials, and parties. After I left school I used to go with hearing people more than with deaf people as there were no deaf people around here. I used to go to church and socials but I never enjoyed them because I could not make out what the preacher said and what the people said. That left me alone. Of course they were nice to me but they never talked with me except a few words at a time. Now I refuse to go to anything like that. You see I was considered one of the best lip readers at school but it was tiresome to try to read people's lips all the time. It is hard on the eyes. . . . I associate more and more with the deaf. . . . At church once a month ——— gives me sermons and it surely is easy on the eyes and I think the deaf learn more by signs than by lip-reading. I have been through it all and I know all about it. You can't look at people's lips steadily for hours. I surely have lots of fun at the parties and socials with the deaf.

56 (m): I have been associated with deaf people mostly because their signs and spelling are more agreeable and clearly understood, and we can make conversation with our likes in socials, parties, and meeting places.

58 (m): In spite of my efforts to keep more in the society of hearing people I find that I enjoy life more with the deaf because it is not so much effort to try to understand what is said and meant.

60 (m): When I go to meetings of the deaf, I am always happy because we understand each other so easily. With the hearing people I have to pay so much attention to people's lips and not many hearing people know how to talk to a deaf person. The strain on my eyes makes me sleepy and gives me a headache.

. . . deaf fraternity, church, and a society to which I belong. . . . That is where I meet the deaf people and have real enjoyment and company. I don't feel so close to hearing people though I go to visit them and attend some of their social affairs once in a long time. I don't converse as naturally with my hearing friends as the hearing do among themselves.

One writer gives an entirely different reason for associating with the deaf, one which is perhaps related to the economic situation of the deaf as a group.

68 (m): I prefer going out with deaf people because they are not so extravagant as hearing people.

Those who express their preference for the deaf in terms of the disadvantages of associating with the hearing bring up some of the same criticisms of the hearing that have been discussed before (*Cf. p. 81 ff.*), usually the fact that they are impatient with the deaf.

52 (m): Prefers deaf: Hearing all right, in a way, if they have the patience to understand the deaf.

73 (m): I notice that in a crowd composed of hearing and deaf people the deaf people do not follow the trend of the conversation. On asking "What are you talking about?" the usual reply is, "Nothing much." At the same time I am able to enjoy myself when with hearing people. However, I prefer to be with my deaf friends in most cases, especially those whose friendship I have cultivated during my school days.

2. *Advantages of associating with the hearing.* Some derive greater social satisfaction from being with the hearing:

53 (m): The life of the deaf and hearing are quite different. The deaf seldom get together as often as the hearing do and when it comes to banquets, parties, dances, or some social gathering there is always one fault with them. "TALK." The hearing get together as much as everyday to the deaf's once a week, so they talk a little while and then think of some fun. I have been running around with hearing boys and girls (especially the boys) and there's always a suggestion to go someplace, for instance say roller skating, or to a picture show.

59 (f): My contacts with the hearing people were very nice and when I was working in the mill the people were good to me and helped me a lot. I get along well with the hearing people better than the deaf people.

2 (m): Have associated entirely with hearing people since leaving school. I find I do not enjoy associating with deaf people probably because I am much more conscious then of my deafness.

8 (f): I have not mixed with deaf people. . . . Of course, I have some special friends among the deaf, such as classmates, so forth, and we visit each other occasionally. No matter how good friends we are I have found them very tiresome. There are only a few exceptions. Usually when they are talking they go too much into details.

29 (m): . . . I *like* to be among hearing people better for their natural grace, charm of manners and the like are good, healthy and stimulating to me. . . . Those deaf people . . . who fortunately enjoy happy relations with hearing people are more sociable as far as I am concerned than those who do not.

15 (f): My contacts with deaf people have been very agreeable but as the years went by I grew tired of them because the greater group of deaf people talk about themselves. These people are the ones who almost do not make contacts with hearing people.

Some prefer being with hearing because they learn more from them and improve their speech and lip-reading by being with them.

32 (m): I do think a deaf person should try to meet as many hearing persons as possible because you learn a lot more from them than you would with some deaf persons. I do not mean all deaf persons because some are real smart, but it will do a deaf person much good to be choosie about the persons whom he or she wants to be friends with.

36 (f): Since I left school and had to be in contact with hearing people on account of employment, it greatly improved my English as well as lip-reading.

54 (f): I think it is good for deaf people to meet each other socially once in a while and I encourage that by doing my share but I think it is bad to have intimate friends who are deaf and who come all the time. I lapse into voiceless speech and make gestures from force of habit and I would rather not do it.

66 (f): I like to go out with both deaf and hearing people now. I learn fast with the hearing people, better than deaf people. I learn fast with hearing boys and girls at the factory. They understand me anyhow. They all are good to me. . . . I can go out with hearing people and deaf people anyhow. I like to go out with hearing people too because they always tell me news and things when they hear them.

74 (f): I am never keen on being in a hearing crowd but at the same time I can appreciate the company of hearing people. Naturally I feel more at home with deaf people but as for "learning more" I get it from hearing company and also from reading books.

1 (m): . . . I would advise others to make little or no contact with the deaf. . . . otherwise in contacting the deaf for companionship, etc., they are apt to use sign language to a great extent and that will raise h— with speech.

80 (f): I am sure that it has been much better for me to be with hearing people for I have become used to talking with them and very seldom spell words. I now have confidence in myself and can speak to clerks and they understand what I want. I have been able to do this because my people insisted upon my doing it.

56 (m): As to myself, I like to associate with the hearing people best for by doing so I can improve my lip-reading and speech to a great extent. (He writes a good deal in praise of the "beautiful language of signs"; speaks of his own ability to reduce an audience to tears by reciting in signs. Emphasizes limitations of oral method.)

88 (f): Since I left school I thought surely I would never be able to go out with the hearing people until I got a position at the ——— Company. Made several friends and enjoyed their company immensely because it has broadened me a great deal. Went to parties and clubs with them. (Keeps up with deaf but): . . . still I should mingle with the hearing people in order to keep up with my speech and lip-reading.

Some desire to be like normal people, to have "hearing outlook" on life:

22 (f): I am trying to keep myself as much like a hearing person as possible.

86 (m): I have found it a great help to mingle with hearing people and to avoid staying at home because I am handicapped by lack of hearing and speech.

28 (f): When having left school, I was in contact with hearing people for four years and found those years very beneficial to developing more like a hearing person. Then, returning . . . for a few months, I met some of my old deaf friends. And—they were different. They made frequent hand gestures, shoulder shruggings and face puckering. Those are the kind of people who are simply satisfied where they are and will never get anywhere else.

71 (f): The hard-of-hearing . . . retain the "hearing" outlook on life, this is what we need but it is not enough; we also need normal hearing associates and I am fortunate to find that in my boss. . . . To him I own my present sane outlook on life—

3. *Evaluation of the deaf as a group.* This section overlaps, to some extent, those in which the writers expressed their preferences for associating with the deaf or with the hearing. The distinction between those sections and this is that in the former a criticism, favorable or unfavorable, is given as the reason why a person has chosen his own associates from one group rather than the other. In this section are the more objective comments, as it happens usually negative ones, which often qualify a choice for a particular group. In these cases they are criticisms from within a group rather than statements of the reason why the writer remains outside of the group.

The conversation of the deaf is criticized in some letters:

15 (f): . . . the greater group of deaf people talk about themselves. These people are the ones who almost do not make contacts with hearing people.

35 (m): . . . I have joined a deaf society; through this club I have met and enjoyed the company of many fine deaf people. One thing I dislike about the deaf is their talk of other people's affairs.

8 (f): Usually when they are talking they go into too much detail. This is what I have to watch myself when I talk with hearing people. . . . They also come to conclusions too quickly even before we finish speaking to them.

Some criticize the deaf as being socially immature and dependent. In these cases the criticism is levelled against the school training that the group received.

34 (f): There is another problem which I should like to be given serious consideration: encouraging the deaf children to be self-reliant and courageous. I have seen too many deaf adults, long out of school, making too many demands of their own schools as if to expect that it is the duty of the schools to act and think for them even if they are trying to make their way in the world. Too many of them do not realize that schools are places of education only and nothing else. . . .

I believe that older boys and girls should be allowed to hold two or three social activities during the two school terms before graduation so that after school . . . they would be able to conduct themselves sensibly. Many of them told me of their helplessness after graduation and taking a few years to feel comfortable to the opposite sexes . . . so many of the girls acted sheepish which was not natural after my contacts with my brother's and my hearing friends.

71 (f): . . . I feel that so many deaf graduates or pupils could have done better, if only those in authority over them had been closer to them, because there is so much left undeveloped in them by the time they leave school—they really don't know themselves so they follow along the line of least resistance. That's why I say they should get out of a school for the deaf and into their places in the hearing world *sooner* than they do . . . and so find themselves before they get out of their teens.

Closely related to lack of social development are the charges that the deaf do not have good manners. In this case, also, the blame is placed on the schools or the families.

72 (m): I have travelled to the Pacific coast and have met many deaf. Many were courteous. Others were awful. I am at a loss what to name them. But I think their schools are at fault, not them.

21 (f): Many . . . deaf people, even the most intelligent that I know . . . surprise me by their lack of tact and I have observed that these people have not been helped by their families. Only a few that I know received considerable social training from their folks. They are very lovely and charming.

Others speak of general characteristics of the deaf, points at which they fail to meet the ups and downs of ordinary social life.

42 (f): . . . I have had very little trouble with either (deaf or hearing) people. But it appears to me that most of the deaf do not have the patience, or the sense of humor, or the ability "to take it" without loss of temper when thrown on their own among the hearing people.

44 (m): I have tried avoiding the deaf people as much as possible after leaving school as I had an idea they were a quarrelsome lot when they got together too often but in late years I have been forced to accept their company and find them as I thought they were. There is considerable friction among the 160 or more deaf in this city. Some people say the deaf are clannish, I don't see how they could be when there is so much friction.

91 (m): I have not had many social contacts with the deaf since I left school but of those meetings which I have attended I feel very happy especially among old friends but I am sorry to say that my contacts with some older ones have been rather gloomy affairs. They have been through the school of life and in the past four or five years have become especially gloomy and with very pessimistic outlook on life.

Still others speak of the educational and cultural inferiority of the majority of the deaf.

61 (f): In my long association with the deaf I am sorry to say that—Writing Good English—seems to be a "lost art" with them. Most of them cannot even form a simple sentence. However no school can be blamed for this. They were shown how to write and must in a mysterious manner have forgotten it when they stopped school.

65 (m): I find I learned more from hearing people because their knowledge is spread over a wider range of subjects, while that of the deaf is very limited. If I may suggest it, I think this could be overcome to a

great extent if the pupils in deaf schools were required to do more reading.

72 (m): Uses signs with those who have had limited learning . . . it is impossible to discuss current events of interest for they do not understand.

81 (?): There are several classes of deaf—one in which I am in my element; another to whose level I have to come down; and still another which is average.

54 (f): . . . for the privilege of associating with some really brilliant people you associate with a great many more inferior people.

31 (m): Although many of the deaf are not educated, I find quite a few that could hold their own with the best of my hearing friends.

28 (f): . . . They are the kind of people who are simply satisfied where they are and will never get anywhere.

A writer who lost his hearing in his teens (Pierce, 26, p. 360) speaks of the two groups: The chief fault of the hearing seems to be their poorly concealed feeling of superiority and their realization that the numbering of the deaf among their friends is not necessary to their happiness. The deaf in turn have a pronounced spirit of clannishness and often fail to cultivate the talents that would bring them nearer to the fixed standard of normality.

4. *The hard-of-hearing.*

71 (f): I became interested in the "Speech Readers' Guild" and a new world was opened to me. You see, the members of the S. R. G. are *normal* people who have become deafened, but because they did become deaf, they became one of us, but still retained the "hearing" outlook of life, this is what we need.

22 (f): I did not have a close girl friend while in high school and I think it was because most of them were several years younger than me. I became acquainted with some hard-of-hearing people later and made several close friends. . . . I enjoy the company of the hard-of-hearing most. I can talk to them about things most deaf people would not understand, and if they cannot hear me they can read my lips.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

EVERY measure of adjustment must be based on a study of the environment to which the adjustment is made. If the behavior of the deaf is found to differ from that of the hearing a closer study will show that in many cases it is normal behavior in an abnormal situation rather than abnormal or maladjusted behavior in the ordinary sense of the word. In this study an attempt is made to describe the life situation of the deaf—to find out what tensions and limitations are part of his ordinary life.

We have also tried to make a broad survey of the ways in which the deaf meet the situations which they face. Statistical studies developed for use with normal hearing people may fail to show the different kinds of adjustment that are found in a group of the deaf since they are built to measure the amount of deviation in directions which have already been found to be important for a different group. Hence there is a need for a broad preliminary study of the psychological environment of the deaf and of the ways in which they adjust to it. Until surveys of this sort have given us a better understanding of the world of the deaf and of the "normal" adjustment to it, there can be no really adequate measures of the degree of adjustment in individuals or groups of individuals.

In this study we have analyzed material bearing on these two aspects of the personal and social adjustment of the deaf. The material of the study was obtained by letter and interview from a group of eighty-six graduates and former pupils of five different schools for the deaf.

Some of this group mention the loss of sound for its own sake, but it is the social aspect of sound that is usually discussed as the major deprivation imposed by deafness. Inability to join in conversation freely, inability to participate fully in the good times of the people with whom they live, difficulty in finding work, restricted choice of occupation, and slow advancement are all important problems. Coupled with these definite limitations is the consciousness of being different from the majority of people about them. One of the most significant aspects of the picture is the fact that, to a large extent, the deaf blame their difficulties more on the attitudes of the hearing than on the sense defect itself. While many of them report only kindness and coöperation on the part of the hearing a large number speak of their impatience, of the fact that they do not trouble to include the deaf person in what is going on and give only perfunctory answers to

questions that he may ask to help himself keep in touch with the group. In regard to employment they often feel that it is the employer's unwillingness to give them a chance rather than their own inability that stands in their way. Many report active hostility, especially in childhood, as well as this general lack of consideration. On the whole what they mind about it all is not so much that they are left out, as the fact that they are left out because the hearing consider them inferior, as not full human beings.

How do the deaf behave in the face of this situation? We find many different reactions. For some, the realization of their problems leads to a withdrawal from contacts with the hearing. This withdrawal may be an emotional retreat, the result of a general fear and especially a fear of not understanding and not being able to make other people understand them. In other cases the withdrawal is based on a carefully considered rational survey of the situation. Just as the sensible deaf man does not insist on using the telephone, so will he study social situations and try to avoid those where his handicap places him at too great a disadvantage. The great problem in these cases seems to be where to draw the line. It is one of the fundamental characteristics of deafness that it does not set a sharply defined line of demarcation between the things that the handicapped person should expect to be able to do and the things that are clearly beyond his reach. To establish this line for himself so as to avoid a retreat from what is still possible, and at the same time to avoid a useless struggle and defeat in trying to do the impossible: this is perhaps the most important problem in the adjustment of the deaf man. Many suggest the value of formulating a philosophy of life on which they can fall back when difficulties arise.

Other kinds of adjustment that were described may be considered as active, in contrast to withdrawal. In some cases these take the form of a direct fight against the barrier imposed by the handicap, of forcing one's way. In other cases, those in which the chief limitation is seen in the attitude of the hearing, the deaf person sees his task as one of educating the hearing. For others an active approach to the problem takes the form of working out devices for bridging the gap which their deafness sets between them and the world of hearing people. The deaf person takes the attitude that it is his responsibility to handle the situation rather than that of the hearing person. He suggests the importance of taking an active part in situations that arise, of meeting the other person half way. He emphasizes the importance of social training for the deaf so that they may be sure that they are doing the right thing in each situation; he advises the development of special skills that will give them some added

value in a social gathering. In regard to employment he suggests that special training will help compensate for whatever handicap their deafness involves.

This study does not attempt a real evaluation of these different solutions of the problem. In each case very much depends on the actual situation and the personality of the individual concerned. Certainly an emotionally-toned withdrawal is a false solution, one that lowers the person's own self-esteem and in its turn cuts him off still further from the life about him. A certain amount of rational withdrawal is necessary for each deaf person because there is no evading the fact that deafness is a real handicap. The most effective educational methods can not give substitutes that are as good as hearing itself. Certain things are denied even to the most adequately trained deaf person. At the same time a purely negative attitude is not enough. While those who fight directly against the barrier usually achieve relatively little, those who examine it carefully not only to find out where it crosses their own line of action but also to see where they can work actively to escape it, may often accomplish a great deal. The deaf girl who makes up for her slowness in conversation by learning to read palms for a party has gone a long way toward giving herself a place in a social group. The employee who sees to it that he knows still more than his fellow workers on some subject relating to their business may be giving himself assets that will counterbalance his weaknesses. But constantly there is the danger of pushing too hard. It is at this point that a "life philosophy" plays a part. In the end, to have a philosophy of life probably means most of all to be able to sit back and survey the situation objectively, to see what one can do and what one's limitations are and so to find out what one's rule is to be.

Just as we found very different ways of meeting the problems brought by deafness so we found great differences in the general life tone of different individuals. These attitudes ranged from open rebellion against the whole situation to a serene acceptance of life as it is, or even a feeling of superiority over those, who escaping the handicap of deafness also missed the advantages which in some cases it had brought with it.

It is clear that this picture is an incomplete one. It presents problems of adjustment only as the deaf themselves report them. Since the adjustment is always between the individual and the other members of his social group one must also study the problem from the point of view of the people with whom the deaf live. The effectiveness of the different solutions must be evaluated from the point of view of the other groups that are concerned. But whatever such a study might show this one-sided

picture given by the deaf themselves will remain a genuine one and one which must be taken into account in considering the adjustment of the deaf. Certainly the situation of the deaf as they feel it is one in which the average hearing person would find it difficult to live. Yet all the attempts that have been made to compare the deaf with hearing persons in particular aspects of adjustment, even though they have largely disregarded the situation in which the deaf live, find the deaf only slightly less well adjusted. Whether or not we consider these measures adequate, they indicate what those who know the deaf realize, that most of them meet their problems with a resourcefulness and courage that go far toward helping them adjust to the tensions and frustrations with which they have to struggle.

APPENDIX A

Letter and questionnaire

The enclosed *questionnaire* is being sent out to the alumni of several schools for the deaf in order to help us learn more about the personal and social problems that the deaf have to meet after they leave school. A few of the questionnaires have already been sent out and we find that many of the deaf have thought a great deal about these problems and can tell us things from their experience that will help the teachers in their work with the children who are now in school.

Would you be willing to help us get more information by answering the questions and returning your answers in the enclosed envelope within the next three weeks? It will help if you will illustrate your answers by giving examples of things that have happened to you.

The answers will be kept confidential. Put your name and address on the envelope, but *not* on the sheets on which you write. Write your answers on the enclosed sheets. If you need more paper any sort will do.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR ANSWERS ON THIS SHEET

Part I (To be answered only by those who were deaf before they can remember)

1. What do you remember of your childhood before you went to school?
2. How did you get along with hearing children before you went to school and during vacations?
 - a. Were there hearing children with whom you might have played?
 - b. Did you play with them?
 - c. Did you have any special difficulties with them?
3. When and how did you first know that you were deaf and that other people heard? How did this knowledge affect you?

Part II (To be answered only by those who became deaf later and can remember when they still heard)

1. Do you remember anything about the time when you lost your hearing?
Please tell us something about it.
2. How did you get along with hearing children after you became deaf?
 - a. Were there hearing children with whom you might have played?
 - b. Did you play with them?
 - c. Did you have any special difficulties with them?

Part III (To be answered by all)

1. Were you afraid of anything as a child? If so, of what sorts of things?
2. What made you angry?
3. What did you worry about?
4. What hurt your feelings?

5. What have you most wished for?
6. Have you hearing brothers and sisters? If so, in what way has your life been most different from theirs?
7. What means of communication (that is speech and lip-reading, signs, spelling, or writing) do you use (a) with deaf, (b) with hearing persons?
8. Please tell something of your contacts with deaf and hearing people since you left school.
9. What special problems have you met in your after-school life?

Please write about anything else that you think has been important for your personal and social life.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR ANSWERS ON THIS SHEET

APPENDIX B

Short summaries of material obtained from the persons interviewed and from those who answered the questionnaire

In the following are notes put together so as to give a more unified picture of the individuals from whom material was obtained for this paper. Whenever possible they give, for each person, his sex, the approximate age at which he became deaf, and something of his associates and of his general adjustment. The numbered series, 1-98, are those who wrote in answer to the questionnaire, the lettered series, A-G, the group studied by interview and discussed in an unpublished paper by N. J. Tullis. It will be noted that three of this second series, C, D, and G, are also among those who received the questionnaire. Since the two approaches were made at different times (the questionnaire two years after the interview) and by different people and since the method was so different in the two cases the material obtained by letter and that obtained by interview are quoted separately even when it came from the same person.

We do not print either letters or interviews in full, both because of the limits of space and because they were given in confidence and a full report might give clues to the identity of the subjects. In some cases the notes are given in the form of quotation, in others as statements summarizing what was said, depending upon whether the writer has succeeded in bringing his own reactions together in a few direct statements or whether they are so scattered as to make them difficult to quote.

The number of times that a certain kind of reaction is quoted in these notes does not necessarily agree with the number of times that it is shown below in the table of Appendix C. In that table we note each time that certain topics are mentioned. In these descriptions we try to give only what seems to sum up the general life tone, taking into account contradictions between different statements that are made in different parts of an account.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF (whether of not he can remember the time when he still heard)	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
1	m	early	Has hearing brother. Associates only with hearing: . . . "I would advise others to make little or no contacts with the deaf" (on account of speech).	Went to college with hearing, played on teams, was in a fraternity, seems well-satisfied on the whole. "My life was not any different from that of my brothers."
2	m	early	Hearing brother and sister. "Have associated entirely with hearing people since leaving school. I find I do not enjoy associating with deaf people, probably because I am then much more conscious of my deafness."	" . . . any success in my personal and social life is due in a large measure to my entire lack of sensitiveness about my handicap."
4	m	later	One hearing brother. Associates mostly with deaf.	" . . . he has a better education and more friends than I have." "What hurt my feeling was being pitied for being deaf."
7	m	later	Three hearing brothers. First few years after school only hearing associates, later joined a league for the hard of hearing. . . .	"Life different from theirs only in those situations that are peculiar to a hearing person. They enjoy concerts, etc. . . . My success in overcoming the hurdle of deafness. . . ."
8	f	early	Hearing brother and sister. Keeps up with school friends; finds most deaf tiresome: they go into details too much when they talk. Makes friends with hearing in the office and elsewhere.	Goes slowly in making friends with hearing people—feels her way. Deaf people should not try to show their independence in situations in which a hearing person can take the lead and help out. " . . . many people waste a lot of sympathy on me . . . they do not know how happy and contented I am."
11	m	early	Only brother, hearing, died early, was kind to him. Father hard of hearing, understands the character of the deaf. Mixes with different groups and "don't feel a bit embarrassed before anyone."	Parents made him feel that he was as smart as any other child even if he was deaf.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
15	f	early	One hearing brother. "My contacts with deaf people have been agreeable but as the years went by I grew tired of them because . . . they talk about themselves . . . do not make contacts with hearing people. My contacts with hearing people are not difficult but I take fright sometimes because I have been told that I make people nervous with my unnatural speech . . ."	"I think everyone should learn philosophy to help them face truth without feeling hurt. . . . I think it is important for my personal and social life at present to learn to do what I really can do and <i>not to do</i> what I <i>cannot</i> do."
17	m	early	One hearing sister. Contacts with deaf only through correspondence. "My hearing friends are the friends with whom I grew up."	Speaks of "the ever-present problem of not being understood occasionally especially by strangers" . . . in conversation confines himself to short answers and seldom tells jokes as his hearing friends do. Interest in sports most helpful in making new friends.
18	f	early	One hearing brother. Lives where there are no other deaf people, has joined clubs of hearing women, goes out everywhere with father and aunt, but, "If I had stayed in a big city . . . I would have associated more with deaf people. . . . I think it is natural for the deaf to be with the deaf."	
21	f	early	One hearing sister, felt social inequality. "I get along with intelligent, sympathetic hearing people but unfortunately there are very few of them" . . . deaf people in her own city not her equal mentally or socially . . . keeps in touch with scattered school friends.	Emphasis on rational withdrawal ". . . do not talk too much to hearing people; ask intelligent questions so that hearing people will talk . . . meet hearing people half way. . . . Learn skills that will help to contribute to social groups."
22	f	later	Three brothers, two sisters. Enjoys the company of the hard of hearing most; has some deaf friends. Greatest problem to adjust herself to hearing people.	Did not want people to know that she was deaf. . . . "But on the other hand, I think that as a result of my deafness I have learned to appreciate the finer things in life and to have higher ideals." (Had greater advantages than hearing members of family.) Wants to keep herself as much like a hearing person as possible.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
25	f	later	One brother and one sister. "I'm too busy to see much of my deaf friends, I am sorry to say, but I have a great many hearing ones. If I'm a handicap to them they never let me know it!"	"Nobody seems to think I'm different from anybody else."
28	f	early	One sister. In contact only with hearing for four years after school. Disappointed when she met deaf friends again. "They were together more than they associated with hearing people. And—they were different, they made frequent hand gestures, shoulder shruggings and face puckering. Those are the kind of people who are simply satisfied where they are and will never get anywhere else."	Wants "to succeed in several fields and be a well-known person for the sake of my family . . . and to show that a well-educated deaf person can do as much as a hearing one."
29	m	early	Hearing brothers and sisters, one deaf brother. Enjoys deaf people. ". . . Nevertheless I like to be among hearing people better for their natural grace, charm of manners . . . most deaf and dumb people seem to be flat. Those deaf who enjoy happy relations with hearing people are more sociable . . . than those who do not." The hearing . . . "Those who understand and appreciate are easy to get along with . . . those who do not pretty hard . . . do not bother to talk . . ."	"My life differs from theirs (brothers and sisters) in this that I do not seem to mind being alone, like to do things alone. But like them I enjoy art, theater . . ." Worries about job, how to make contacts with boss, etc.
31	m	later	Hearing brother and sister. Has hearing contacts but "working with the deaf . . . I find that I enjoy a better social group."	Felt himself a leader in any group, normal or hearing. Has overcome early feeling of self-consciousness. Wants to show what the deaf can do.
32	m	later	Hearing brother and sister. Knows hearing people where he works, others only as they are friends of relatives. Learns more from hearing . . . deaf should try to be with hearing.	"I have most wished for my hearing to come back to me so that I may make a name for myself and make more pay." Brother and sister enjoy more social life . . . make fun of his dancing. Difficulty in finding work and meeting right kind of people. Wants to marry hearing girl if he can find one. Wants to help show the hearing what the deaf can do.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
33	m	early	One hearing sister. Associates mostly with deaf and members of own family.	" . . . I have resigned myself to my condition. At times I have a desire to be either totally deaf or able to hear completely." Resents it when people give up and stop in the middle of an explanation.
34	f	early	Two hearing sisters. "My life has not been in the least different from theirs." Knows both deaf and hearing.	"Has always wished for 'the best of everything life can offer.'" Has interesting work, generally pleasant contacts.
35	m	later	Several hearing brothers and sisters. Enjoys groups of deaf, has met many really fine ones but feels that they talk too much about each other's affairs. Hearing: "I have found only a few who have the patience to enjoy being with the deaf."	Thought he was cheated when beaten in a game; was teased by other boys, called "deafy." Was given more spending money than brothers and sisters.
36	f	early	Two hearing sisters and one brother. Being with hearing where she works improves her English and lip-reading. Enjoys time spent with deaf.	"I am told that I am better educated on etiquette and the zeal to work . . . more independent . . . sisters and brother depend on parents . . . that's what the deaf school taught me."
37	m	early	Only child. Meets hearing people chiefly at work and in social life; deaf at occasional functions.	Married . . . would like to earn more but "I guess that is every one's cry." Has a little apartment and is very happy.
38	f	early	Only child. Gets on easily with both deaf and hearing friends. Afraid of new contacts.	Wishes husband (above) could earn more but is very happy.
39	f	early	Two hearing brothers. Hearing friends in business college and afterward at work. Enjoys social events with the deaf.	"I do not seem to feel badly because of lack of hearing. I have found that my determination to mix with both deaf and hearing people . . . has given me a more encouraging outlook. Travelling to distant places has also helped to broaden my viewpoint."
40	?	?		Speaks only of the importance of signs and spelling for the deaf.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
41	f	later	Hearing sisters and brother. "We associate with the same people, attend the same parties, and I have just as good a time as they do." Has met no deaf people since leaving school.	Is proud of contacts with hearing and the fact that they do not do anything to make her conspicuous as a deaf person in a crowd. Had difficulty getting work. "I wouldn't take no for an answer. I simply bawled them out and showed them that I had a backbone and asked for a try out. . . . Now . . . everybody seems to want me to work for them as they have found out that I am a good and outstanding worker."
42	f	later	One hearing sister. "I have very little trouble . . . with either class (deaf or hearing) of people . . . most of the deaf do not have the patience, or the sense of humor or the ability to 'take it' . . . when thrown on their own among hearing people." Hearing: . . . "I have always found those who understand and those who have seen deaf people before most considerate and helpful."	Her life has been "more enjoyable in a social way, financially, and domestically" than her sister's. Special problem: "to show that there is little difference between my ability and that of a hearing person."
43	m	later	Nine hearing brothers and sisters. Seems to have contacts with both deaf and hearing.	Speaks of missing sounds of nature. Most wishes for a good job (steady) with less than ten hours a day. Has had only odd jobs since leaving school.
44	m	later	Two sisters and a brother who could hear. "I have tried to avoid deaf people as much as possible . . . as I had an idea they were a quarrelsome lot when they got together too often. . . . In late years I have been forced to accept their company and find them as I thought they were. . . ."	"I have always wished I could hear like the rest so I could get a better job and be up there with the rest and again at times I do not wish to be able to hear as I miss most of the unpleasant things some people say . . . we are all poor but they seem to be able to enjoy more than I. . . ."
45	f	early	One hearing sister. . . . "can't keep conversation with her (sister's) company for long enough . . . I mix with the deaf people when we have socials. I begin to get acquainted with hearing people through my speech and lip-reading now."	Speaks of value of his education, reading, etc. "I found out that I am deaf (on entering school) . . . It made me feel bad, but I still keep up my chin." Was made fun of and excluded by hearing children. Lives with sister . . . wishes she could get a job and be independent.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
46	f	early	Nine sisters and two brothers, all hearing. Contacts with both deaf and hearing, enjoys deaf more.	Bitter and resentful until she met other deaf people at 15. Now tries to help people who are worse off. "My life has been harder than any of theirs (brothers and sisters)." Is happy and cheerful, willing to do all she can.
47	m	later	Hearing brothers and sisters. "Deaf people like to get together with other deaf persons. They have a natural desire to know each other and have a feeling of being one family. Contact with them is a simple matter. With the hearing it is difficult to get acquainted as one gets older.	Was given extra attention and help by other children, "protection" by well-meaning friends. Hurt, by people displaying pity because of lack of hearing. "Some hearing consider deaf mentally deficient."
48	m	later	Hearing sisters. Has contacts with both deaf and hearing.	Was teased and made fun of when he first lost his hearing. Sisters have more fun; shows and dances. Greatest problem: meeting the competition of the hearing in getting a job.
49	f	early	Only child. Sees hearing more because of employment. Enjoys deaf much more.	Hurt when relatives paid more attention to hearing cousins. Would have liked to be a trained nurse but can't because of deafness. Wants to try to make hearing understand the ways of the deaf.
50	f	early	Four hearing brothers; one hearing and one deaf sister. "I enjoy communication with deaf people more than hearing people. . . . I used to go with hearing people more. . . . I never enjoyed them . . . they left me alone." Lip-reading tiresome. " . . . I surely have lots of fun at the parties and socials with the deaf."	Has a little money—doesn't want to be dependent. Missed companionship with family because of deafness.
51	m	early	Hearing brothers and sisters. Was shy (as boy) did not like to be with hearing. Was teased by th-m.	Worries about not having enough money to raise his family, educate them, etc. "If I could hear I would have been foreman in my work." "I wish to hear like other people."

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
52	m	later	Has hearing brothers and sisters. Hearing people all right if they have patience; likes to deal with them in business. Likes to be with deaf socially because of ease of communication.	Misses music. "... hearing brothers and sisters always expecting the most favors and more leisure than their unfortunate brothers, most deaf are slaves." "My hearing restored was my earnest wish."
53	m	early	One hearing sister. Deaf: get together less often than do the hearing and when they do, talk too much. The hearing see each other oftener, talk a little while and think of some fun. Has been going around with hearing boys and girls lately, always something to do.	Difficulty in getting work; the fault of the older deaf who didn't do their work right or didn't pay attention to warnings.
54	f	later 5	Deaf husband and hearing children. Worked to create position for herself in hearing community in which she was to live. Sees deaf people only at a few special parties, etc.	"But now when I see all my hearing brothers and sisters, all married and settled with homes of their own with problems identical to mine my deafness has really made little difference." But is keenly aware of social isolation.
55	m	early	Only child. Knows a few deaf people, spends most of his time with hearing.	Difficulty in earning a living increased by semi-blindness in adult life.
56	m	later	Hearing brothers and sisters. Likes to associate with hearing best to improve speech and lip-reading. Enjoys entertainments given by the deaf.	Speaks of adjustment as a child mostly, was jovial, bright enough to hold his own with others, never worried even about his deafness. Has been employed for 25 years in one place with 3000 clerks. "I've enjoyed life with them."
57	f	early	Only child. "Natural to be with deaf most of time" but reports good relations with both groups.	Worries about financial situation, not being able to stay at home and devote herself to her children. Is hurt when people make fun of the deaf; also when she is not kept fully informed of family affairs. Refused to accept advancement in work because she was afraid of difficulties on account of her deafness.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
58	m	early	Hearing brothers and sisters. "In spite of my efforts to keep more in the society of hearing people I find I enjoy life more with the deaf because there is not so much effort to try to understand what is said and meant."	" . . . they could talk and have interests while I merely looked on and waited." Wants to understand "hearing people and their ways of doing things which were so different from school life and habits of the deaf." Feels that his best efforts have not given him the economic security that he should have.
59	f	early	Two sisters and two brothers. Working in a mill "the people were good to me and helped me a lot. I get along with the hearing people better than the deaf people."	Brothers and sisters took advantage of her deafness.
60	m	early	Two hearing brothers, one sister. Happy with deaf because he understands easily. Feels conversation with hearing a great strain.	Feels limitation in choice of work. As a child was teased by others, later on "When I would ask what the joke was they would say, 'Oh, nothing'."
61	f	later 6	Two hearing sisters. Has contacts with both deaf and hearing.	"As a child feared most in conversing with others." " . . . that I was no longer normal hurt my feelings." " . . . wished day in and day out to regain my hearing."
62	m	early	Four hearing brothers; two hearing sisters. "I go to parties held by the deaf as often as I feel like it but I don't bother with hearing persons much, only when necessary."	Does not like to meet people for fear of not understanding. Has always wished he could hear. Feels that members of the family don't bother to talk with him.
63	m	later 7	Three sisters, hearing. Contacts mostly with hearing.	"As every one of the children with whom I played took pains to make sure I understood him I rarely gave a thought to my defective hearing." "I hated to be laughed at . . . but I have learned to take it good naturedly. . . ." Has not longed for normal hearing . . . hopes for fair success in life but is prepared for the usual ups and downs. Shares much with sisters, differs from them only in scope and type of interests.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
64	m	early	Only child. Has worked with deaf since school days, few contacts with hearing.	"I don't see any special problems in my after-school life."
65	m	early	One hearing brother, one sister. "I find I learn more from hearing people because their knowledge is spread over a wider range of subjects while that of the deaf is very limited."	"My life did not differ at all from theirs excepting that I lived at school. . . . the main problem has been getting a job but the employers do not want to take a chance with the handicapped."
66	f	early	Three brothers and three sisters, all hearing. "I like to go out with deaf and hearing people. I learn fast with hearing people, better than deaf people." ". . . hearing people always tell me the news and things they hear."	"I work good and nice at the factory. I am satisfied with my deafness and education. I can go out with hearing people and deaf people anyhow."
67	?	later 8	Hearing brothers and sisters. ". . . I have had contacts with the deaf and the hearing alike. . . . I am at present overcoming the difficulties I have with hearing people—by not appearing to be so intellectual. They never like it."	"My life has differed from the lives of my brothers and sisters in the matter of personal education. They worked. I read all the time."
68	m	early	Three hearing brothers, two hearing sisters, one deaf brother. "I prefer going out with deaf people because they are not so extravagant as hearing people."	"My work is satisfactory, problems few, and I am able to talk and read the lips."
69	f	early	One hearing sister. Only a few deaf people near; is good friends with all of them. Says little about relations with the hearing.	"But many times I thought strangers were ridiculing me and this has always left its mark. I study people even now to make certain they are sincere before I become friendly." Hurt: when she feels that anyone is making fun of her speech. "She (sister) is happily married and I shall probably never marry." "I have learned to face life and take its knocks and happiness alike."
70	m	early		Tells only of grievances in connection with school training, starting his business and the like, which have no bearing on general attitudes.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
71	f	early	Hearing brothers. Friends: deaf, hearing, hard of hearing.	Had greater school advantages, was more ambitious than hearing brothers; feels herself more cosmopolitan in choice of friends and interests. Resented school discipline, fought her way to self-confidence.
72	m	later	Hearing brothers and sisters. "... met many deaf. Many were courteous, others were awful. I am at a loss what to name them. But I think their schools are at fault, not them."	Worries about job. "If I were assured of a job I would have been as carefree as a lark." "... There is not much difference except that they are not dependent on my parents any longer while I still am." Complaints of teachers in one school, of pupils in another.
73	m	later 8	Hearing brothers and sisters. Says that hearing will not trouble to answer questions from deaf but: "At the same time I am able to enjoy myself when with hearing people. However, I prefer to be with my deaf friends in most cases, especially those whose friendship I have cultivated during my school days."	"... they had to start to earn their living sooner than I had to. It was my privilege to be able to remain in school until I had reached the high school grades." Finds deaf discriminated against by employers, especially because of workmen's compensation laws. Difficulty in getting insurance on cars. Always hoped to hear again to enjoy music.
74	f	early	Hearing brothers and sisters. "I am never keen on being in a hearing crowd but at the same time I can appreciate the company of hearing people. Naturally I feel more at home with deaf people but as for 'learning more' I get it from hearing company and also reading books."	"... I have wished that I was less timid about meeting people halfway." Mentions disadvantages of not being able to telephone, failure to understand a highly praised moving picture. "One of my greatest blessings of my life is my love for reading books as it has helped to make my life more endurable."
75	m	early	One hearing sister, two brothers. "In my early after-school years I naturally entered the social life of the deaf. ... Later I gradually drifted from my early associates and entered a hearing world. I went to several clubs, joined the 'Y', ... with many young men. I found enjoyment in their company. ... Goes on trips with hearing friends, they explain shows, etc., to him."	"In my early youth I was five years behind them in education but since leaving school I have reached the same plane as they and am now as well equipped mentally to enjoy life." Always worried about his future. Bitter when he first realized that he was like the children he met at school rather than neighboring children he had played with; education and religious training helped adjustment.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
76	m	early	Hearing brother and sister. "... we are very devoted and they understand the deaf." Joined organizations of the deaf, played baseball on teams with hearing, entered Y.M.C.A. meets.	"I had more advantage educationally than they and seemed to be as well off financially if not a little more so." "... determination to show what I could do in spite of my deafness when seeking employment."
77	m	later 4-7	Only child. Has joined a lodge, has no fear of meeting prominent people. Of the people he works with: "I like these people and they are good to me. They try to make me understand what they are saying. They are willing to repeat."	Has most wished to have the best specialist try to cure and restore his hearing, but knows that it would do no good. Satisfied with himself and his life on the whole.
78	m	early	Two brothers and one sister, hearing. "I take part in affairs of the local deaf and keep posted on progress of the deaf in general. I enjoy a wide circle of acquaintances among the hearing including many life-long friendships."	Problems: chiefly economic ones relating to the deaf. Minds not being able to follow general conversation, join in music, etc.
79	m	early	Only child. Belongs to organizations for deaf and hearing, made friends at university for hearing. Attends League for Hard of Hearing, but is not a member.	Deafness helped powers of concentration.
80	f	early	Three hearing sisters and two hearing brothers. No deaf people near. Sees school mates on occasional visits. Works with hearing. "We talk to each other and I do not notice that I am deaf." But misses the social life of the community, church, etc. Better for her to be with hearing—has become used to talking with them.	Feelings hurt when she is in a crowd of people who are having a good time and she is left out. "My one wish has always been that the time would come when I might be able to hear."
81	?	early	Hearing brothers and sisters. "There are several classes of deaf, one in which I am in my element, another to whose level I have to come down. ..." "I have found that hearing people are sympathetic toward a deaf person who is open and above-board, not petty or melancholy. On the other hand people will only tolerate a deaf person as long as he does not make a nuisance of himself."	Travel has broadened outlook on life. "I am better able to adjust myself to various situations and environments. I have even gone to school with the hearing and enjoyed it." Greatest problem: to have the deaf better understood by the general public. "People do not seem to realize that the deaf can do anything that a normal person can do except use a telephone or fly a plane." Mentions legal discrimination.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
82	?	later	Only child. Contacts mostly with deaf, alumni organizations, etc.	"In time I learned automatically to smile and laugh when they did." Was hurt by being slighted because of hearing impairment. Difficulty in obtaining employment because cannot answer the telephone.
83	m	later 7	One hearing brother. Has belonged to athletic clubs and Y.M.C.A.s. "Half the hearies will meet you half-way; 10 per cent will even go to inconvenience to be helpful to you; 10 per cent will take sadistic delight in being mean." Belongs to organizations for the deaf.	In childhood was frail, other boys fought him and teased; later went out for wrestling and boxing. Aggressive blame of hearing for lack of patience: "One pain-in-the-pants is the universal refusal of busy hair-trigger executives to carry on a pad-and-pencil sales talk." Feels superior to brother; better off.
84	f	later 6	Two hearing brothers. Has some contacts with both deaf and hearing. "The difficult thing is to get a hearing person to talk to the deaf person." "There is not much difference in contacts with the deaf and hearing if we are interested in the same things."	"Deafness has made a great deal of difference—often—so often I was left out of everything on account of deafness—I never learned to put myself forward." "Few deaf read enough to make up for the loss of hearing."
85	m	early	One hearing brother, but they were orphans and writer spent vacations at school. "After I left school I made many friends (deaf and hearing). I used to get up entertainments . . . for the deaf to enjoy. . . ."	Has had a job for years, feels financially secure. "My married life has been a very pleasant one for me. We have always been happy and contented in spite of our deafness."
86	m	early	One hearing brother. "I have been in contact with the hearing people constantly since I left school (although he lives in a city in which there must be groups of deaf people) as I attend church services and socials and work with hearing people. I attended . . . high school for four summers. I have had no contact with deaf people." "I have found it helpful to mingle with hearing people. . . . I usher in church and try to do everything that hearing people do."	"My life has been different from his in that I . . . have not had the advantage of normal family life." Deafness involves danger of accident in doing heavy work.

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
87	f	later	Only child. ". . . the deaf like to be together, to be treated fairly, and like a good leader. . . . Goes to church services for the deaf. Worked in a factory with hearing girls. "I liked them all so much." Had a half brother who heard, but lived with grandmother until ten. Did not expect to be able to get along with hearing, but made friends through her work and enjoyed their company. Went to parties and clubs with them. "As for the deaf people—I think it is much better to keep in touch with them because I belong to the deaf people and still I should mingle with the hearing people in order to keep up with my speech and lip-reading." Only child. Aside from relatives associates almost entirely with deaf. Belongs to clubs, goes to parties with the deaf, etc.	"What hurts me the most is whenever I see anybody say, 'Too bad, she is deaf and dumb.' I made up my mind that I would be capable to do anything after I get through my schooling."
88	f	early		
89	f	early		"My deafness has been a great handicap in getting a position."
90	f	later	Has hearing brothers and sisters. Difficult to adjust to hearing after school because they had different standards. Married, takes part in community affairs.	"I live my life and eke out its pleasures in my own way which may be more or less expensive than theirs and I feel I cannot say they have more because they can hear. . . . "Angry . . . if she made the impression that she was not as capable as one with all their faculties. " . . . by letting other people alone and living our own lives the best we can we manage to enjoy ourselves." "We try to do what is given us the best we can with a few added efforts which we find pays in the long run. We try not to feel that people are criticizing us when they appear to be talking about us. . . . "I think hearing people want to help the deaf provided they try to help themselves." "I hesitate to go ahead for fear of not being as successful as I would like to be." Fears people will say, "Well, what could you expect of a person who can't hear?"

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
91	m	early	Both hearing and deaf brothers. Has not had many contact with deaf since leaving school but enjoys meetings with old school friends. Older deaf too gloomy.	"There is nothing that I could wish for in connection with my hearing. I am satisfied to be as I am physically." "I do not feel any difference in our lives with the exception of conversation." "Difficulty in obtaining work on account of depression rather than on account of hearing."
92	?	later	One hearing brother, one hearing sister. Goes to visit hearing, but says, "My society is limited to that of the deaf people." "That's where I get really enjoyable company."	"They are in closer touch with life and people than I feel I can be." Problem: "To try to be on a footing with the hearing people. It seems the hearing people put the deaf in a class different from themselves and don't realize they are able in many things as they are."
93	f	early	Hearing brothers and sisters. Is active in clubs of the deaf. Does not mention the hearing.	"I can't say that there has been much difference outside of my affliction. I seemed to be resigned from early age. . . . It is tremendously important to have faith in the future, to educate oneself in a specific line of work, to persevere and not to be discouraged."
94	m	later gradual	Only child. Have always associated with normal hearing people. Wants to marry a hearing girl who has a strong prejudice against his deafness. "Just what attitude could I take to help her get over it?"	"Any difficulties I had with other boys was due to a lack of athletic ability rather than my deafness. . . . "Always had been made to feel that I would get along all right in the world. (More worried about that now.)" "Instead of feeling sorry for myself because I couldn't hear something I would take the attitude that I wasn't missing much, or that I could get it in a book anyway." " . . . if you like and trust everybody they will do the same with you, but will walk on you a little too." "I have tried to make myself a place in a normal hearing world and feel I have done so. . . ."
95	f	early	One deaf and one hearing brother. "So many deaf friends and hearing people since I left school. So many of them have been good to me ever since." Belongs to church clubs, is treasurer of one (with hearing).	

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
96	m	early	One hearing brother and one sister. Contacts with both deaf and hearing pleasant.	"My life has been different from theirs . . . they have more social contacts." "I find that the hearing must be educated to the problems of deaf—namely that they are not so dumb as some hearing are." Economic difficulties the result of "ignorance on the part of certain employers."
97	f	early	Brother and sister, hearing. Mother died, writer spent most of childhood in institution.	"In the end I had a better education, going through high-school and through a hearing university while both my brother and sister left grammar school to earn their living." "I have realized that I do not belong to any social group. Although I am deaf I tire of my own kind in general and would prefer to be with the hearing, but even when I am among the hearing I feel 'outside' no matter how kind they are." Difficulty in securing work: "Most employers are not educated to the possibilities of a deaf person in the industrial field. In short the deaf person is not wanted anywhere, not even in the deaf schools." Wished for: "My hearing back—my rightful place among the people—not to be considered a 'freak'."
98	f	later	Only child. "I have been associating with the hearing people mostly as I grew older. . . ." "After I got married I have been invited to many parties by the hearing people. I got along well with them." Criticizes deaf: If she was in a mixed group they would be suspicious if she talked with the hearing.	"I have most wished I could have one hundred per cent hearing so I would get along well with the people. I have missed many things because I could not hear well."

NUMBER	SEX	AGE AT BECOMING DEAF	ASSOCIATES	GENERAL ATTITUDE
A	f	later 4	Hearing sister. Associates largely with deaf. "I was conscious I was in a world by myself. My family have not helped me make hearing friends."	Over-protected, unable to use her freedom when she finally obtained it. Bought a car. "It was my salvation. . . . Now I am my own mistress." From experience I learned that hearing people become irritated by the deaf talking to them. Better say nothing, hold back, study each person and then make your approach gradually feeling your way along."
B	m	later 5	Hearing wife, ashamed of his failures to make himself understood, cuts him off from deaf associates.	
C	(described as 54, page 138 of this section)			
D	(described as 71, page 141 of this section)			
E	f	early	Deaf and hearing associates. A leader in either group.	"I don't blame the hearing people for not coming half way. They are embarrassed and don't want to make mistakes."
F	f	early	Deaf and hearing associates.	Serene, poised, friendly.
G	(described as 11, page 131 of this section)			

APPENDIX C

Quantitative Summary of Data from the Letters

The following table gives a rough quantitative survey of the contents of the letters. Our questions are formulated largely as a means of starting the subjects to talk about what they found important in different aspects of their own lives. In reading over the letters we find, as we would expect, that a given problem is treated by different writers in answer to entirely different questions. Thus difficulties in regard to employment may be discussed in answer to question 3, "What have you worried about?" by one person, in answer to question 5, "What have you most wished for?" by another or to 8, "Tell us something of your contacts with deaf and hearing people since you left school" by others. Therefore we tabulated the contents of the letters in terms of the subjects discussed rather than in terms of the questions as presented in our letters. In evaluating this material it is important to keep in mind that some subjects are suggested directly by our questions. For example, the question of difficulties with hearing children. It is to be expected therefore that discussions of this aspect of deafness will occur rather frequently. The questions of marriage and employment, on the other hand, are not raised directly. They are discussed less frequently but we can assume that they are significant to more persons than actually mention them. No one, in writing more or less unrestrictedly about himself, will succeed in covering every aspect of his own life. It is even to be expected that some will, with intention or unconsciously, avoid discussing some of the problems that affect them most. This means that some of the problems that are discussed relatively seldom may be especially significant ones for the whole group. In any case the quantitative distribution of subjects as they are mentioned in our material can not be considered as indicating the relative importance of the different subjects. This can only be done by making such qualitative analysis of the material as we have attempted and by studying the consistency of the whole picture that is obtained. We present the quantitative survey of the material, however, to give the reader some idea of the actual data with which we have worked.

The only figures that are important in an absolute sense are those that indicate that the numbers of men and of women who answered the questionnaire were approximately equal and that the number of deaf from birth

or early childhood was greater than the number who became deaf after they had already acquired the language of normal children. Sixty-five per cent of our correspondents were educated from the beginning as deaf children and may therefore be assumed to have suffered the full limitation imposed by deafness educationally.

	NUMBER	TIME OF DEAFNESS			ASSOCIATES			
		BEFORE CAN REMEMBER	REMEMBERS HAVING HEARD	NO INDICATION	MOSTLY DEAF	MOSTLY HEARING	Both	NOT INDICATED
Men	42	25	17		13	9	19	1
Women	35	25	10		4	6	25	—
Uncertain: Sex not indicated	5	1	3	1	2	—	2	1
Total	82	51	30	1	19	15	46	2

WHAT IS MISSED AS A RESULT OF DEAFNESS?

	SOUND AS SOUND		
	SOUNDS OF NATURE	MUSIC	SOUNDS AFFECTING SECURITY
Men	1	6	1
Women	—	3	1
Uncertain	—	—	—
Total	1	9	2

SOUND AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

	CASUAL CONVERSATION	ABILITY TO MAKE FRIENDS, ETC.	ABILITY TO GIVE AND RECEIVE INFORMATION; SECURITY	ACTIVITIES	LIMITATIONS IN EDUCATION	LOSS OF EFFICIENCY	MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZED GROUPS
Men	14	5	4	3	4	1	1
Women	11	4	10	6	—	2	3
Uncertain	0	1	1	0	—	—	0
Total	25	10	15	9	4	3	4

BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES OF HEARING PERSONS

	EXCLUSIVENESS INDIFFERENCE IMPATIENCE	ACTIVE HOSTILITY		TREATING THE DEAF AS INFERIOR				
		ADULT LIFE	CHILDHOOD	GENERAL	PITY	OVER- PROTECTION	TALKING ABOUT THE DEAF IN THEIR PRESENCE	TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE DEAF
Men	19	6	14	3	3	1	2	1
Women	14	5	7	10	3	2	—	3
Uncertain	3	—	1	2	—	—	1	—
Total	36	11	22	15	6	3	3	4

BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES OF HEARING PERSONS (Continued)

	FAVORABLE ATTITUDES OF THE HEARING			
	HEARING ACTIVELY HELPFUL		"GOOD RELATIONS"	
	ADULT LIFE	CHILDHOOD	ADULT LIFE	CHILDHOOD
Men	5	6	1	28
Women	3	6	2	17
Uncertain	—	1	—	2
Total	8	13	3	47

DIFFICULTIES IN REGARD TO MARRIAGE		DIFFICULTIES IN REGARD TO EMPLOYMENT		
		FINDING WORK	ADVANCE- MENT	CHOICE OF OCCUPATION
Men	3	18	4	4
Women	—	6	3	2
Uncertain	—	1	—	—
Total	3	25	7	6

REACTIONS OF THE DEAF TO THE FRUSTRATIONS OF DEAFNESS

Withdrawal

	EMOTIONAL WITHDRAWAL		RATIONAL WITHDRAWAL	LIFE PHILOSOPHY
	GENERAL FEAR OF CONTACTS	SPECIFIC FEAR OF DIFFICULTIES IN COMMUNICATION		INSIGHT INTO SITUATION IN RATIONAL WITHDRAWAL
Men	5	6	2	5
Women	11	5	4	5
Uncertain	2	—	—	—
Total	18	11	6	10

	ACTIVE ADJUSTMENT		SPECIAL TECHNIQUES USED BY THE DEAF			
	FIGHTING	EDUCATION OF THE HEARING	TAKING ACTIVE PART IN SITUATIONS	GENERAL DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL TRAINING	COMPENSATIONS
Men	1	4	8	4	3	3
Women	2	3	7	3	2	5
Uncertain	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total	3	8	15	7	5	9

LIFE TONE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

	ACCEPTANCE	FEELING OF SUPERIORITY BECAUSE OF DEAFNESS	"SOUR GRAPES"	REBELLIOUSNESS
Men	8	3	4	3
Women	9	7	—	4
Uncertain	—	—	—	—
Total	17	10	4	7

FEELING THAT THE DEAF AND HEARING ARE SEPARATE GROUPS

	DEAF SPOKEN OF AS A SPECIAL GROUP	HEARING SPOKEN OF AS A SPECIAL GROUP
Men	3	1
Women	6	1
Uncertain	—	—
Total	9	2

SOCIAL PREFERENCES

	PREFERENCE FOR THE DEAF		PREFERENCE FOR HEARING		
	SOCIAL SATISFACTION	EASE OF COM- MUNICATION	SOCIAL SATISFACTION	SELF- IMPROVEMENT	TO KEEP "NORMAL"
Men	5	7	3	5	1
Women	7	1	6	6	3
Uncertain	—	—	—	—	—
Total	12	8	9	11	4

OBJECTIVE EVALUATION OF THE DEAF AS A GROUP

	CONVERSATION OF THE DEAF	SOCIAL IMMATURETY	MANNERS	GENERAL CHARACTER	EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL STATUS
Men	2	—	1	2	3
Women	3	3	1	2	4
Uncertain	—	—	—	—	—
Total	5	3	2	4	7

COMPARISON OF LIFE SITUATION WITH THAT OF HEARING SIBS

	EQUAL	BETTER	LESS FAVORABLE
Men	11	4	5
Women	9	4	4
Uncertain	—	—	1
Total	20	8	10

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